

Open Research Online

The Open University's repository of research publications and other research outputs

Public sector professional identities: a review of the literature

Other

How to cite:

Baxter, Jacqueline (2011). Public sector professional identities: a review of the literature. The Open University, UK, The Open University, UK.

For guidance on citations see [FAQs](#).

© 2011 Jacqueline Baxter

Version: Version of Record

Copyright and Moral Rights for the articles on this site are retained by the individual authors and/or other copyright owners. For more information on Open Research Online's data [policy](#) on reuse of materials please consult the policies page.

oro.open.ac.uk

*A Review of the
Literature*

PUBLIC SECTOR PROFESSIONAL IDENTITIES

THE OPEN UNIVERSITY UK

THE OPEN UNIVERSITY UK
THE FACULTY OF EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE STUDIES
THE FACULTY OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL CARE

Public sector professional identities

A review of the literature

Jacqueline Baxter

121011

This document reviews the literature on professional identities in the public sector and focuses on cross sector research into professional identities and the challenges that they are currently facing. It is the result of cross faculty collaboration between the Faculty of Education and Language Studies, and the Faculty of Health and Social Care.

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	2
Table of Illustrations	3
About the author	4
Acknowledgements	4
Notes	5
Caveats	5
Context	5
1. Forward	6
2. Introduction.....	9
3. Rationale	16
4. Methodology	18
5. Discourses of professionalism: defining the entity	21
Conclusion.....	36
6. Defining professional identities: conceptual frameworks within the public sector .37	
6.1. Professional identities contextualised.....	37
6.2. Identity analytic approaches employed within the field of public sector professional identity research.....	39
6.3. Identity as trajectory: the meld of personal and professional.....	41
6.4. The role of community in identity formation.	44
6.5. Visual emergences of identity.....	51
Conclusion.....	51
7. Policy documentation and its role in shaping professional identities	54
7.1. Background	54
7.2. Identity and policy discourses: narratives and interpretation.	57
7.3 Policy discourses: roles and risks.....	58
7.4. Policy Discourses: relative values, skills and competencies.....	64
7.5. The role of resistance discourse and the emergent field of occupational identity management	69
Conclusion.....	74
8. Multi-agency working.....	75

9. The role of professional learning in the formation and maintenance of robust professional identities	79
Conclusion.....	90
10. Conclusions and recommendations.....	91
References	93
Appendix 01 Grant Funding Sources.....	1
Appendix 02 Policy Snapshot.....	0

Table of Illustrations

Figure 1 Rationale for investigation of public sector professional identities.....	20
Figure 2 Components of Professional Identity.....	52
Figure 3 Indicative routes for Dissemination of Policy discourses	65
Figure 4 Components of the Professional Identity within the context of policy analysis	68
Figure 5 The Five Stages of Learning Professional Identities	86
Figure 6 The Curricula of Professional Identity Formation.....	87

About the author

Jacqueline Baxter is a researcher within the Open University UK and is currently working on the ESRC funded project on Governing by inspection: School Inspection and Education Governance in Scotland, England and Sweden.

Acknowledgements

The Author is indebted to the members of the Professional Identities cluster group , for the support and information given within the context of this review. Members of the cluster group include: Roger Harrison (Youth Work),Pete Bradshaw (Teaching) Bob Jeffrey (Primary), Sandy Sieminski (FE,Social Work) , Fran Wiles (Social Work), Christine Wise (Youth Work), Marion Cartwright (FE), Fiona Reeve (Youth work, FE /HE), Sue Mckeogh (Early Years), Jacqueline Baxter (HE,Secondary), Gwyneth Owen Jackson (Secondary), Janet Bardsley (Social Work), Alun Morgan (Social Work), Tyrell Golding (Youth Work),Gill Goodliff(Early Years).John Butcher (HE) Teresa Cremin (Teaching), Shiela Curran (Teaching),Janet Bardsley (Social Work),John Clarke (Social Policy),Eric Addae-Kyeremeh (Teaching),Ann Pegg (HE),Alison Higgs (Social Work),Jan Draper (Nursing).

The review has greatly benefitted from those in public service professional roles who gave of their time so generously to participate in preliminary research conversations within the following areas: Youth work, social work, nursing, teaching, Youth offending, early years and HE and whose insights and observations were valuable both in terms of background and focus for this review.

Thanks also go to Roger Harrison for his support and helpful comments on the draft material.

Notes.

Due to the scope of this review, in order to provide consistency, users of public sector professional services listed within this review are referred to generically throughout as service users. This grouping covers the following: students, clients, patients, members of the public and those normally referred to within certain occupational groupings as service users.

Caveats

This review is based upon literature pertaining to public sector professionals working within the public sector. It does not cover public sector professionals that may be working in the charitable or private sector although certain sections include these professionals within the context of research done around specific elements. An example of this falls within section eight, on multi-agency working.

Context

This review concentrates upon the UK public sector and is not placed within an international context. In cases in which, international research projects are considered to contribute pertinent insights on professional identities; they are included as contributory documentation.

1. Forward

This review provides an overview of the professional identities of public sector professionals, as they face the challenges of operating within the uncertain political and economic climate of today. A climate within which, they are striving to attain effective, salient, and robust professional identities, in order to carry out their roles.

The review begins with an overview of the political and economic climate within which public service professionals are facing some of the greatest challenges in terms of both financial constraints, and ways in which they are expected to work, since the Second World War. It continues by outlining the reasons why strong and salient or effective, professional identities are more important than ever and examines the implications of the weakening of professional status, role confusion and uncertainty, for the professionals themselves, their occupational groups, their service users and for society as a whole.

In section four, the methodology and structure of the review is explained in detail. This is followed by section five, which examines common understandings and arguments around meanings of professionalism, and what this implies for public sector professionals. It discusses competing power discourses around professionalism and discursive repertoires within this. In investigating notions of professionalism, the review looks at ways of defining professionalism within the public sectors, discussing differences between 'the professionalism', that is defined by regulations, inspection and audit, and that defined by identity, enterprise and self regulation. (S. Harrison & Pollitt, 1994:282)

Section five, sets out to outline the ways in which professional identities (PIs) have been investigated across the public sector, exploring the frameworks and methodologies that have been employed to analyse the ways in which these identities are evolving, in order to remain salient and effective in the public sector of today. It investigates which factors are emerging as being most influential in creating, moulding and sustaining salient PIs, and unpacks the key challenges and barriers currently being encountered by today's public sector professionals.

Section six of the review discusses the ways in which both organisations and the state, seek to shape and influence new notions of professionalism. It also investigates literature which examines the intersection between policy discourses and the possibilities which these provide in allowing individuals to view and manipulate conflicting and complimentary discourses, in order to find their own professionalism. It examines to what extent, the two are complementary, and, to what extent they are competing; analysing cross sector tensions between the policy rhetoric and the realities of working in and across agencies and private/public sector divisions. Within this, section seven, investigates frameworks for policy analysis and how these may be integrated with qualitative analyses of professional identities in flux. Section seven, point five discusses the ways in which resistance discourses develop in response to dichotomies between professional viewpoints and ideologies and policies.

In section eight, the conflicts and uncertainties around multi-agency working are explored in relation to their impact on the professional identities. This is followed by section nine, within which, the role of professional learning and the ways in which it has evolved within the realm of public sector professions, is discussed in relation to the political context.

The review concludes with a discussion around the implications of the evidence for further research.

Also included within the study, is a policy timeline for the occupational areas within the study. (Appendix 02). The timeline aims to offer a helpful resource overview of the ways in which policies within the public services have developed over the last fifty years, in order to give an indication of the ways in which successive governments, public opinion and research has shaped the working environments of public service professionals to date.

A table detailing related research projects and funding sources is located at Appendix 01.

The review brings together professionals from the following groups: social work, youth work, secondary teaching, primary teaching, Higher Education, Further Education, and Early Years. It examines communalities between these very different forms of public sector and ways in which professionals bridge discourses to achieve effective multi-agency team working. It incorporates extant literature which falls outside of these occupational groups, but which contributes to and complements, core literature.

2.Introduction.

Increasing marketisation, policies which enhance and embrace the idea of multi-agency collaborative working, and an economic climate in which the biggest spending cuts since the Second World War , are currently being implemented, herald profound changes for the public sector.(Ainley & Allen, 2011; Allen & Ainley, 2010; S. J. Ball, 1993).As a result of this public sector professionals face multifarious challenge, not purely in terms of how they execute their role, but fundamental questions around their values, sense of salience and professional identities; provoking questions around what it means to be an effective public sector professional in the 21st century.

An increasingly market orientated approach has been appearing across the public sector for some years now. (S. Ball, 1998; Coffield & Williamson, 1997; Gerwirtz & ball, 1996; Jeffrey & Trowman, 2009). Rising levels of government intervention influencing, not only how the public sector is run, but also ways in which public sector professionals do their jobs, these have led to a plethora of public sector policies, not all of which have been constructed according to the linear form of : problems identified, responses formulated, strategies implemented and systematically evaluated. But, have in part, been created instead, in a climate of what has been termed 'policy turbulence': a reactive form of policy making in which 'policy windows', or the opportunity to formulate policy in order to achieve political goals, address systemic failings and produce rapid fire responses to public disillusionment. (S. Bradford, 2008:24).

This adds to the growing concern about public sector policy, created in what some researchers perceive to be a deeply conservative and class interested manner; leading public sector researchers and professionals, to question what impact this is

having for the both public sector, and the future of those professionals working within in it. (Lymbery, 2001). The trend is not confined to the politics of a single government, but forms part of a wider neo-liberal political consensus based partly upon the need of successive governments, to effect ever greater improvements in the public services, via networks and layers of increasingly stringent and target driven controls. Professionals working within these environments are attempting to make sense of new ways of working and demands with regard to both their function and execution of their function: what they do and how they go about it.(Ainley & Allen, 2011; Allen & Ainley, 2010; Baldwin, 2008; Baxter, 2011; Coffield & Williamson, 1997; Gewirtz, Cribb, Mahony, & Hextall, 2006; Hanson, 2009; Nicol & Harrison, 2003).

High levels of economic cuts, affecting both local authorities and latterly the third sector, place increasing levels of pressure on public services to perform more efficiently. Managing on reduced numbers of staff and greatly reduced levels of financial support have led to greater levels of stress, time off due to sickness, and increased levels of professional insecurity (Baldwin, 2008; Baxter, 2011; S. Farrell, 2010; Gewirtz, et al., 2006; Wiles, 2010).The results and implications for this are discussed in detail in sections three and six.

The Big Society rhetoric stated as part its vision for a new society, that cuts within local authorities, whilst undoubtedly impacting on levels of service to some extent, would be offset by greater support from the third sector (Parliament, 2011). But in August 2011, the union backed anti cuts campaign, 'False Economy, released information based on a study of 265 freedom of information responses from local councils across England, which offered early indications of the scale and nature of the impact of cuts on third sector organisations. In terms of actual percentages, the cuts have so far been most substantial in relation to the following services: Children and young people (64%), volunteering (48%), homeless and housing (44%), Disability (46%), adult care (41%), health (54%), domestic violence and sexual abuse (43%), crime (63%) and education (83%). (percentages expressed as an average percentage cut across 380 organisations within England. (Ramesh, 2011).

The scale and nature of these cuts resonate throughout the public sector ,but have particular repercussions for those working within the field of social work, many of whom, sought employment within third sector organisations following the 1990 NHS Care and Community act, as they perceived there to be more opportunity for greater autonomy, 'to practice in more progressive ways and to return to the core values of social work, than was possible within a local authority situation' (I. Ferguson & Woodward, 2009 :86). In terms of professional identity; this will place many within the profession with a dilemma: to return to an environment within which their core beliefs are compromised or to enter the private sector and all that may entail; not purely in terms of targets, but also in relation to the meaning of professionalism in the public sector. The impact of cuts to the third sector do not purely impact on social work, but resonate throughout the public services. This combined with rising levels of unemployment and increasing levels of social exclusion, indicate that for public sector professionals, their most testing times may yet be to come. The emphasis, placed upon volunteering by the current coalition government, implies that shortfall in both funding and staff, would be, in part, compensated by a greater emphasis on the engagement and development of volunteer staff. However recent research, carried out by Professor Mohan and his team within the Third Sector research Centre, suggests that organisations within the most deprived areas are most likely to depend upon government funding and least likely to be able to recruit substantial levels of volunteers, compared to more prosperous areas. As Mohan points out:

'Critics suggest that the Big Society is premised on an unrealistic vision of what voluntary action can achieve, drawn from the prosperous Home Counties, in which there exist, strong networks of voluntary organisations, supported by wealthy individuals, and staffed by prosperous, well- educated citizenry, many of whom, have time on their hands. This may bear little relation to the complex societal challenges of disadvantaged inner- city areas or to the needs of communities blighted by structural unemployment which has lasted over a generation.(Mohan, 2011 :2)

The impact of the recession on the UK public is reported with increasing regularity by a number of public and private organisations. The Lewis report on Voluntary and

Community service organisations in London (Lewis, 2010), found empirical evidence to show that within London , *'more people are experiencing mental health problems; more people than can be catered for are seeking advice from these services, and, the most marginalised are becoming more marginalised.'*(Ibid: 2). 2011 figures, released by The Institute of Public Policy Research found that London now has a 27% youth unemployment rate with large increases among young black people, reporting that 48% of young black people between the ages of 16 and 24 are now unemployed. (IPPR, 2011). Although these figures are higher than in other areas, they reflect national trend data. (IPPR 2011).

Within the context of higher education the negative impact of increasingly target driven environments is comprehensively documented in a paper by Kinman.(Kinman, 2001). The review examined research on occupational stressors and strains amongst academics based at UK universities. The literature revealed that academic staff manifested low levels of job satisfaction and psychological health and cited several key reasons for these findings:

- *Rising levels of administrative paperwork*
- *New management styles , experienced as incompatible with established academic ways of working*
- *Changes in organisational structure*
- *Interpersonal conflict*
- *Uncontrollable workload*

Caseness rates, or the level of psychological ill health where some degree of intervention is recommended , were reported as being,' significantly greater amongst academics than for managers and other categories of staff: academics 52%, professional staff 39%, managers 38%, clerical/secretarial 30% and sales staff 26%.(ibid:2).

The combination of budget cuts, rising social problems, increasing levels of unemployment, and an environment within which an increasing emphasis is placed

on target driven service benchmarks, is creating a challenging environment for both public sector professionals and the people who rely upon them. In order that public service professionals are equipped to withstand pressure, in order that they remain motivated and committed to their work, it is important to investigate both the impact of these changes upon their professional identities, and to analyse which factors are instrumental in retaining motivation and evolving these identities: what is needed in order to render them effective and self-salient within their practices and professional environments.

In addition to the changes outlined above, other factors are also important within consideration of the public sector working environment. One of the most substantial of these is has been the advent of multi-agency working. An environment which has emerged in response to policies advocating a joined up approach within public services and between professionals, in order to provide a holistic service which addresses the issues found to be lacking by the Lamming Report and other widely publicised inquiries into public service failings (DFE, 2003; Lamming., 2003). A substantial body of research reveals the ways in which public service professionals have been exercised so far, by new ways of collaborative working,(M. Atkinson, Wilkin, A., Stott, A., Doherty, P. and Kinder, K., 2002; Reid, 2005). These challenges range from not only in adopting new practices; new ways of working, but also extend to the ways in which professionals define their own professional roles within the context of an environment within which, competing notions of professionalism, sets of professional ethics, professional standards, and not least, competing sets of government targets and performance management standards, challenge innate notions of what it means to be an effective professional nurse, social worker, teacher, or youth worker in today's society.(Aronson, 2011; M. Atkinson, Wilkin, A., Stott, A., Doherty, P. and Kinder, K., 2002; Cross, Hubbard, & Munro, 2010; Davies & Thomas, 2003; Day, Elliot, & Kington, 2005; McInnes, 2007; Menter, 2010; Moran, 2006; Reynolds, 2007; Stronach, Corbin, McNamara, Stark, & Warne, 2002). Alongside this, sits the service user: the individual served by both agency and professional practitioner; and the ways in which their perception colours and moulds the ways in which the professionals think about their function and

attributes. (M. Atkinson, Wilkin, A., Stott, A., Doherty, P. and Kinder, K., 2002). This is discussed in more detail in section eight of the report.

To the public, the image of the professional may be something of an imago, a zeitgeist, or sign of the times: an iconographic representation of the public service within which they serve. To the public this may either conjure up the notion of a responsive human face of the service, or alternatively, a view of the professional which may be in tension with what they expect from someone in that position. Concomitantly professional priorities may well be in conflict with a public ideal created by a potent mix of media hype and policies which place very different emphases at the heart of professional practice.

A professional who, in essence, has not only to live up to the public ideal of what that professional stands for in relation to that profession, but, through the strength of their professional identity; create their own professional persona; a professional persona which serves the needs of both service user, agency and most importantly , which permits them as professional practitioners, to retain a sense of agency and autonomy: a self-actualising persona which remains effective within a demanding working environment without feeling suffocated and professionally stifled within it: to effect their negotiation through a labyrinth of policy initiatives, public expectations, professional ideologies and policy directives, to create a salient and effective professional identity.

If this identity is to be effective and agentic, then the response from the service user has been found to concomitantly re enforce feelings of self-efficacy and self-salience, providing a positive cycle of development. (Josselson, 2007; Öhlén & Segesten, 1998). This is discussed in greater depth in section nine. But for the professional who is no longer sure of their role; when boundaries are fuzzy and new ways of working create permeability within roles and give rise to professional insecurities, the realm of professional identity research comes to the fore: as Katz articulates:

'few professionals talk as much about being professionals as those whose professional stature is in doubt.' (Kaz, F in Etzioni, 1969:66).'

The breadth of literature which has emanated over the last twenty years and which centres on public sector professional identities, supports Kaz's assertion, that for the professionals themselves, there is rising concern about their value and professionalism.

The combination of these professional insecurities placed alongside increasingly negative perceptions of public service professionals; media onslaughts following well publicised failings in public services, such as the Climbiè enquiry or the Baby Peter affair, (Laming., 2009; Lamming., 2003); sweeping changes within the education and health sector, (Browne, 2010; DOH, 2010), create a volatile arena for public service practice, and the need for in depth cross sector research into how professionals can create, sustain and evolve professional identities that are salient and robust enough to permit them to work effectively in an uncertain climate, is perhaps greater now, than at any time during the evolution of the UK public services.

3. Rationale

The importance of developing a professional identity within a sphere or field has been recognized as vital for professional salience and effectiveness. Acting as a key element in both the retention and motivation of the individual; linking strongly to performance and general job satisfaction, (Baxter, 2004; Day, et al., 2005; Jeffrey, 2008; M. MacLure, 1993; Wiles, 2010; Zemblyas, 2005). As discussed in section two; research into levels and causes of stress within the public services revealed restructuring and change as key reasons for high levels of absence; this in addition to the already pressurised and emotive nature of the work (S. Farrell, 2010), and pressures inherent within the adoption of new methods of working and inter agency collaboration (Hamill, 2001). To operate effectively: to deal with increasing workloads due to economic cuts, highlights the primacy of exploration both of the impact on existing professional identities, whilst also investigating the ways in which new identities are being built by processes of multi- level accretion of existing practices, new practices, policy innovations and the ways in which individuals resist, perceptibly and actually, imposed targets and new ways of working.

The results of weakened professional identities, on both individuals and practice, are well documented by a number of researchers in the field. Weak professional identities lead to less personal salience, lower levels of motivation, less passion, lowered levels of commitment and lowered levels of public confidence (Baxter, 2011; Hextall, Gewirtz, Cribb, & Mahony, 2007; Jephcote & Salisbury, 2009; Vähäsantanen, Hökkä, Eteläpelto, Rasku-Puttonen, & Littleton, 2008). They reduce the attractiveness of a profession to newcomers, whilst also leading to high levels of attrition in existing employees, wasting years of investment in training and professional development. Employees who then take with them the substantial knowledge and experience of the occupational area, leaving it in turn, vulnerable and lacking in core expertise. In societal terms, the costs are also high, leading to less

effective levels of service, lack of confidence in professional autonomy and decision making and public confidence too: in the service, the professional and institution.

In view of the climate outlined above, investigation of public sector professional identities: how to create, sustain and support them; is timely.

4. Methodology

A series of research conversations both before and during early stages of the literature review contributed to identifying key themes within the context of public sector worker identities offering insights into whether professional identities are indeed in flux. Conversations were conducted with the following groups; social workers, youth workers, teachers, learning support assistants, deputy head teachers, nurses and primary school teachers. Meetings with researchers belonging to the cluster group were followed up by requests for relevant literature within each academic field.

In order to explore insights emanating from the research, key themes identified within the extant literature provided by the group, were then used as search terms within the context of internet and database searches which fell within the following categories:

1. Research reports into professional identities
2. Research reports into multi-agency working
3. Papers on identity formation and research pertaining to cluster group academic fields: social work, youth work, primary teaching, secondary teaching, HE, and further education
4. Research pertaining to professional identities within the context of multi-agency working but not belonging to the cluster group fields above: nursing, police work, learning support work, mental health nursing, clinical development of doctors.
5. Policy documents identified as being key within the context of points three and four above
6. Definitions of professionalism.
7. Policy analysis and professional identities.

The literature was then analysed and categorised under the following headings:

1. Discourses of professionalism
2. Defining professional identities.
3. Policy documentation and its role in shaping professional identities.
4. Multi-agency working.
5. The role of professional learning in the formation and maintenance of robust professional identities.
6. Conclusions and recommendations.
7. Key policies within the public sector.(grid)
8. Sources of funding for similar projects.

In order to fulfil the requirements of the review, in the case of literature pertaining to item 2, literature was refined by only including reports and papers in which the methodology and conceptual underpinning was clearly outlined.

The structure for the review followed the recommendations of Hart, and Toulmin, outlined in the diagram below.(Baxter, 2011 (b); McCabe, 2010)

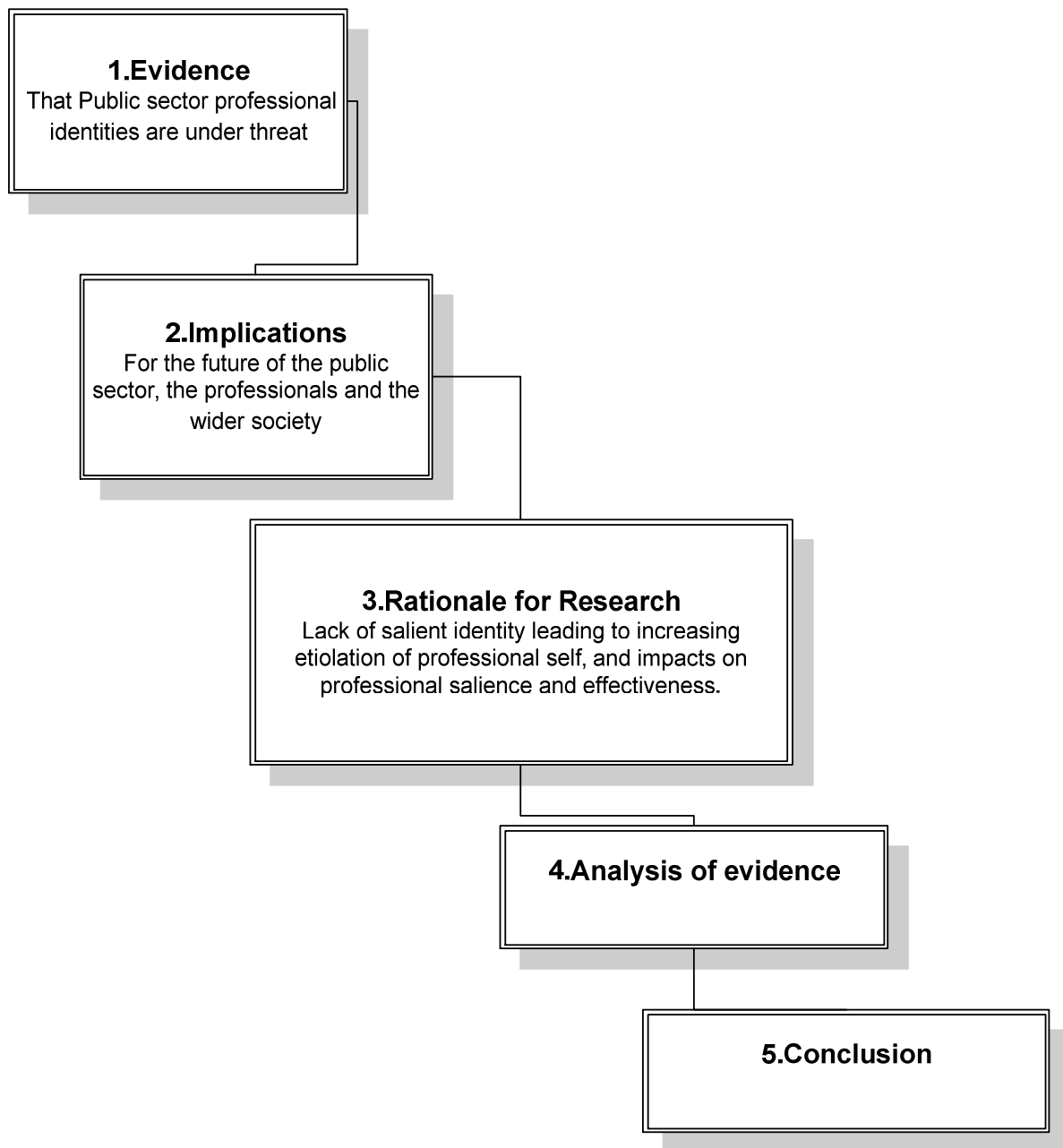


Figure 1 Rationale for investigation of public sector professional identities.

In addition, due to the socio political context within which identities are created and develop, it was thought to be important to include a policy timeline within the appendices section of the report. The timeline aims to demonstrate the key policies and reports that have shaped the public sector, in order that professional identities may be viewed within the context of both political and professional climate

5. Discourses of professionalism: defining the entity

‘Youth work professional identity is a bit like the Loch Ness Monster.’ Both involve stories that arise often and enjoy considerable attention....both are central to powerful cultural stories with almost mythical qualities, that are important to the identity of particular groups...both keep lots of people busy and it is never clear how believable they are.’ (Bessant, 2004:26).

The quote above offers some insight into the discursive nature of professionalism indicating the multifarious ways in which the term has evolved, whilst also keying into the centrality of the term in the creation of professional identity; evoking a folklore feeling of notions of what it means to both individual and profession to be described in this way. It also conjures up the evanescent and protean elements of identities, as they evolve and change in order to make sense of the environments within which they operate. Youth work, along with other professional groups within the public sector, has struggled not purely with attaining professional status, but also with what exactly this means: what the connotations are for the profession and for the individuals working within it.(Baldwin, 2008; Bessant, 2004; Oliver, 2006). Not all concepts of professionalism are positive and understandings of what it means to be a professional are mired in political, cultural, and social assumptions, which in turn, permeate the public consciousness and are reflected back to the professional via everyday practice.

To a certain extent, the quote also reflects the ways that the term, ‘being a professional’, conjures up an ideal which possesses a duality of meaning:

aspirational in character, whilst also providing an anchoring identity marker¹, which either secures professional resilience, or perpetuates an ideal of professionalism which is neither practical nor sustainable within the particular working environment. Acknowledging this duality, recognises the power within the term: the power of being a professional and the potential inherent within the power to manipulate perceptions of what it means to be so.

Ways in which occupational groups describe themselves has been the subject of a range of traditions drawn from the sociology of the professions. (Bessant, 2004). Arguments around what it means to be a public sector professional have been raging over the last sixty years (S. J. Ball, 1999; D. Beijaard, Meijer, P.C., and Verloop, N, 2004; Hargreaves, 2000; Menter, 2010; R. Merton, 1967; Parsons, 1954). Many of these arguments define professionals as 'benevolent and selfless,' their competence and skills; research based (Parsons, 1954). They concur that the professional is essentially altruistic, ethical, autonomous, possessing of specialist education and privy to a unique body of knowledge. (Parsons, 1954). This type of definition was used by certain authors in order to discriminate between the professional and the para professional. Within this categorisation authors such as Parsons, defined, youth workers, teachers, nurses, and social workers as para professionals; performing similar work to professionals, and possessing some traits, but essentially without equivalent power and status.

Since then, post structural understandings of professionalism, issues of public accountability, and attempts by successive governments to influence work in these areas, have given rise to new understandings of what it means to be a professional within today's public sector (Avis, 2005; S. Ball, 1998; I. F. Goodson, 2000; Wall, 2008); placing notions of professionalism firmly within not only an ideological context, but also within a political, discursive and agentic framework that draws upon Foucault's post-modern view, that power and agency are negotiated and reified by

¹ A term via which a facet of identity can be construed – this may be embedded into a policy document, standards, job description or may have evolved less formally over a period of time. For example: nurses are 'caring'.

individuals operating within an environment of competing power discourses. (M Foucault, 1980).

Weiss- Gal in and Welbourne, in their cross national exploration of the professionalisation of social work, recognise two approaches that have emerged within the literature on professionalisation: ' *the attributes or trait approach and the power and control approach*'. (Weiss & Welbourne, 2008:282). The power and control approach is particularly pertinent to investigations into professional identities, as this approach focuses on, ' *how occupations establish and maintain dominance in areas of practice, when confronted with threats to their status from competing interests; whether these threats are from other occupational groups, their clients, government or the bureaucracies that employ them.*' (Ibid). This understanding of professionalism emphasises the role of differing discourses and the ways in which differing discourses of professionalism act, both together, and in opposition, to shape and colour the professional being. This supports Hall's notion of identity which sees any identity as,

'Not an essentialist, but a strategic and positional one. That is to say, directly to what it appears to be its settled semantic career, this concept of identity does not signal that stable core of the self, folding from beginning to end through all the vicissitudes of history without change.....Precisely because identities are constructed within not outside, discourse , we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites, within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunicative strategies.'(S. Hall, 2000 :17).

The ways in which Hall's definition of identity hone and depart from understandings of professional identities within the public sector, are discussed in section six of the review.

Drawing from a range of literature pertaining to notions of professionalism, the following understandings of professionalism emerge: (CWDC, 2011; Evetts, 2003; Goode, 1957; GSC, 2011; HEA, 2006; Larson, 1977)

- 1. The professional will be supported by a professional body within which, registration may or may not be mandatory.(Bessant, 2004; Hargreaves, 2000; Johnson, 1982; Watkins, 1999b; Weiss Gal & Welbourne, 2008)*
 - 2. The profession will have an established code of ethics.(S Banks, 2001; CSCC, 2011; HEA, 2006; Macfarlane, 2004)*
 - 3. There will be a recognised scheme of baseline (and continuing), accreditation(Watkins, 1999a, 1999b).*
 - 4.The profession will operate to certain professional standards(Nicol & Harrison, 2003; P. Sikes, Measor, L. and Woodes, P., 1985)*
 - 5. Professionals will have a sense of the profession: that they will possess a professional identity that differentiates them from other professions. (Avis, 2005; Bessant, 2004; Weiss Gal & Welbourne, 2008), and via which, other professions gain understanding of what it means to be: a professional teacher, social worker, youth worker, or nurse.*
-

But professions are not only important to professionals and service users, as Bradford states:

‘Professions and professional practices are central to the project of government. Indeed expertise institutionalised in professional form has increased the reach of the

state in its capacity to represent social problems in such a way as to make them amenable to government practices.’ (S. Bradford, 2008 :22).

Accretion of managerialist targets, increasing levels of government intervention , diminishing levels of public confidence, and an increasingly market orientated approach within the public sector, has created international interest in the condition of public sector professions and their capacity to operate effectively. (Allen & Ainley, 2010; S. J. Ball, 1999; Bessant, 2004; Jeffrey & Trowman, 2009; Weiss & Welbourne, 2008). The power of the professions, in terms of their ability to influence at both a social and political level, has led to increasing attempts by UK governments to control and manipulate both professional environments and those who operate within them (S. J. Ball, 1993; Gewirtz, et al., 2006). In addition, cross national comparisons of professional status have revealed interesting insights into the degree to which, professionals are effective and powerful within differing cultural, political and economic contexts.(Weiss & Welbourne, 2008). Adoption of standards, registration requirements, codes of ethics and university level pre- qualifying requirements, have been used to both raise the status of the profession and also to ensure that the professions can effectively be managed and their performances increasingly controlled by successive governments. (S. Ball, 1998; S. Harrison & Pollitt, 1994; Stronach, et al., 2002) .

Larson articulates the challenge that the professions pose to both government and institution, in terms of their power and ability to shape and influence society:

‘Professionalism is a power practice, an attempt to achieve closure by producing a commodity whose acquisition and distribution is assiduously monopolised by professionals themselves. ‘(Larson, 1977 :22)

The need to *control* the professions and notions of professionalism has created much debate in terms of not only what a profession gains by professionalism, but also what it risks losing in terms of retaining the ability to attract the right type of

person into the profession.(S. Bradford, 2008) This is particularly reflected in post war attempts to professionalise youth work via the introduction of formal training. The dichotomy between is well articulated in a statement by the National Council of girls clubs who imagined youth leaders as being in possession of:

'birthright, natural genius and special gifts, but also able to deploy understanding of the problems with which they will have to deal.' (National Council of Girls Clubs 1934:8 in S. Bradford, 2008).

Similar debates have arisen within teaching, youth work and nursing, with the suggestion that by professionalising the profession, by requiring degree level qualifications and greater adherence to targets and institutional policies, it may lose the very type and genre of person, it aims to attract. This has latterly been very much the case within the field of Higher Education, with the introduction of greater levels of online learning and the subsequent parsing of academic work into: research, online teaching, face to face teaching, and administration. Macfarlane speaks of this in terms of the loss of professional identity and as an occupational alignment with subject area, being replaced by one which is increasingly institutionally isomorphic :professional whose identity is linked more to the institution than to the profession.(Macfarlane, 2011: 44).

This is not a new idea but has been raised for some time within the field of primary and secondary education, where in school training schemes have ensured that government policies on targets and teaching, translate via policies at institutional level, into hegemonies of teaching; inseparable from core professional elements; at least as far as the nascent teacher is concerned (Gerwitz & ball, 1996; Woods & Jeffrey, 2002). The dangers of such strategies have been recognised for some time now by researchers across the public services. A professional who is controlled by the institution rather than the profession is prey to a much greater degree of professional insecurity and lack of coherent professional identity; than one who is guided by their occupational professional grouping. This is reflected within a number

of qualitative projects, which have undertaken research into both multi-agency practices, and teaching in school, FE and HE settings. (Baldwin, 2008; Day, 2002; Jephcote & Salisbury, 2009). It is also one of the key concerns within the context of the rise of the para professional, across the public sector, and the impact that this army of largely unqualified occupational groups, will have on those that are professionally qualified to fulfil their role. (Kubiak, 2010)

Multi-agency work, within which professional and occupational boundaries lack clarity has been of concern since its inception in the early eighties. Although according to research in the area, it may be an enriching experience for the professionals that work within it; occupational professional salience may suffer due to occupational isolation or blurring of roles. This is discussed to a greater degree in section eight of the review. (M. Atkinson, Wilkin, A., Stott, A., Doherty, P. and Kinder, K., 2002)

Where institutional targets and priorities may not concur with occupational priorities this causes a substantial degree of cognitive dissonance, or feelings of failure to fulfil the anticipated role (M. Atkinson, Wilkin, A., Stott, A., Doherty, P. and Kinder, K., 2002; Dickens, 2011; Ewens, 2003). This has been found to lead to the perceptual *gap* being plugged by unquestioning compliance with agency or institutional targets in order to retain employment, and as a consequence, an undermining of feelings of professional competence (Day.C., Kington.A., Stobart, & Sammons, 2006). Since the engendering of professional confidence is linked strongly to performance, any degree to which this is undermined must be viewed as problematic (Avis, 1996; Baxter, 2010a; Macfarlane, 2011)

The engendering of professional reflection through formal professional training forms a core element of many professional qualifications and the cornerstone of occupational professional standards across the public sector. (HEA, 2006; Schon, 1983). But there is still a considerable amount of debate around to what extent core philosophies, a key element of professionalism, may be instilled via professional

learning, or to what extent they should already be inherent within the individual. An extensive international comparison of the ways in which teachers view their fundamental roles, was carried out by in his studies of primary schools in five countries , (India, England, USA, Russia and France), concluded that there is considerable divergence over what the fundamental role of the teacher is; in terms of the ways in which they conceptualise education of the child, and how they define their role in relation to society.(Alexander, 2001). To what extent this is true, is largely determined by codes of ethics, personal ideologies, and the demands of society, is a question which requires further research. Similar findings were reflected within cross national work on Social work, carried out by Weiss Gal and Welbourne (Weiss Gal & Welbourne, 2008).

Much work has been done on the analysis of codes of ethics and their role in the formation of the professional (S. Banks, 2005, 2010; Godin, 1996; Macfarlane, 2004).Banks, (S Banks, 2001), discusses the problematical nature of codes of ethics and their role in professionalism, distinguishing between, ' a principle- based approach to ethics, including professional ethics, which in her view, places too much emphasis on actions , as opposed to the person performing the action, and their personal ethical stance (S Banks, 2001: 42). The rational and impartial nature of ethical decision making , and the universality of principles. is found to be problematic across the public sector. Within nursing, Hunt finds the notion of professional codes of ethics to pose particular problems. (Hunt, 1998). In his discussion of new ethics for a new nursing profession he compares an, '*ethic of closure with an ethic of openness*'. In both the nursing and medical professions (ibid: 23). He defines an ethic of closure as one in which,

' the professional was a generalist in skills and knowledge and inclined to see illness and health in a personal, family and social context....indeed generally the professional was a devoted and skilled expert who had some understanding of what was 'in the patient's best interest', exercised clinical judgement', and worked for the public welfare as well as a principled goal.' (ibid: 23).

This closed ethic, perpetuated a view of the public service professional as one in which the burden of judgement historically resided with the professional, rather than the profession or institution. The professional was perceived to have a certain amount of autonomy and judgement, based not purely on ethical codes and standards, but predicated by an acknowledgement that the professional possessed high standards of personal integrity.

'The doctor, for example was not seen as a technician who might give advice, so much as one who really understood what was good for patients and know what their needs were, better than patients themselves did.' (Ibid: 23).

This, he compares to the nurses' ethics of openness which, up until then had discursively articulated a much greater degree of accountability. An accountability, which fell more in line with the view of the nurse as, *'the doctor's handmaiden.'* (ibid 24). A role that envisaged professionalism for nurses as,

'obedience.....thus a nurse was expected to respect confidences which she gleaned in the course of the doctor's treatment and examination of the patient, and above all, to cooperate with and facilitate the doctor's work.' (ibid 25).

Since the professionalisation of nursing, and its gradual move towards being a graduate profession, nursing ethics too have undergone a transformation. (Cohen, 1981; Hunt, 1998). This move has produced a division within the nursing profession about what the core identity of the nurse should be. It is a move which is welcomed by some but bitterly opposed by others, reflecting the plurivocal quality of professional discourse. Hunt sees this as a tension, gradually discursively delegating core areas of professional responsibility, for example, the nursing environment, to hospital managers; thus eroding one of the core elements of the nurses' traditional

role. He perceives this to be a similar fragmentation of the role described by Macfarlane in his recent paper on Higher Education roles (Macfarlane, 2011), in which he describes the division of traditional academic roles as being ‘unbundled’, (ibid: 65), or divided into a multitude of different roles, each with specific accountabilities within the institution. The historical portrayal of nurses role as one in which institutional obedience features highly, bears uncomfortable resemblances to current criticisms of lack of autonomy within other public sector professions, linked to the need to be increasingly accountable to management; management who, in many cases, may not share the same professional background and views of what is important, as the professionals over whom they have authority. This may be perceived to be a retrograde step for the profession, a weakening of professional identity, but may also indicate that whilst the professional role has become different, this does not necessarily mean that they are any the less professional, nor, are they less professionally effective. It does however raise questions about the extent to which their own notions of what it means to them to be a professional, may be in conflict with those around them, impacting on their ability operate effectively; this is discussed further within section eight.

Macfarlane’s paper also discusses both the ways in which HE teaching roles have become divided into a mixture of what he terms ‘*para-professional roles*’, but also the ways in which these para-professional roles are regulated: not by the profession, but by the institution. With all of the implications inherent within the idea of institutionally isomorphic identities,(discussed earlier in this section). As has already been discussed, accretion of layers of para-professional occupations has been taking place in many areas of the public services for some years now (Kubiak, 2010). Although a detailed discussion of this is out of scope within the context of this review; within the context of professional identity, it is an area in which further research is needed, particularly in view of the ways in which para-professiona role identities threaten or complement those of public sector professionals. Concomitantly, if the para- professional: the teaching assistant, the nursing assistant , the community support officer, are to play a greater role within the future support of the public sector then it is important that their professional identities too, are salient enough to withstand the increasingly responsible nature of their roles.

Professional autonomy or lack of it, one of the key traits of being a professional, has been recognised, as one of the core threats to the way in which the profession operates both socially and politically (Bessant, 2004; Johnson, 1982). Threats to autonomy have been articulated within a number of research reports, as representing one of the key issues within the undermining of a professional identity. Simultaneously, professional autonomy has been perceived by both institutions and successive governments to be a facet of professionalism that needs to be controlled and minimised, in order to achieve institutional and political goals. (S Ball, 1994; S. Ball, 1998; Dickens, 2011; Macfarlane, 2011). This appears to emanate from a concern around philosophical positions of both individual and profession and the ways in which this impacts on the way in which the profession operates: in reductionist terms this could be articulated as the difference between what the professional views as their role, within the context of both individual and society, the professional's view of the role of their particular profession, and the public and governmental idea of the profession and professional's role.

It also arises out of criticism, in terms of the ways in which professions have attempted to influence society, and ranges from Noodegraaf's assertion that, '*professionals are deeply implicated in capitalism, the patriarchal state, and possesses a powerful social and economic interest of their own that overrides any concern with the sector.*' (Noodegraaf, 2011 cited in Bessant 2004). The professions have also been accused of replication of systems of class, race and gender domination, and cultural isomorphism (Seddon, Henricksson, & Niemeyer, 2009). Creating societal fissures and dichotomies that perpetuate the power of the profession (S. Harrison & Pollitt, 1994; Noodegraaf, 2011); on occasions, at the expense of both service user, and society. The power of the professions and the perceived threat that this power presents to successive governments, has been cited as one of the key reasons for increasingly interventionist policies which seek to micro manage the ways in which professions and professionals operate. (S Ball, 1994). The result of which, have created increasingly performative cultures in which professionals have their professionalism defined in terms of the extent to which they

achieve national and institutional performance targets: targets which may be contranitent or struggling in opposition, with the sense of purpose of individual professional purpose and integrity (S. Ball, 1998; S. Bradford, 2008; Currie & Suhomlinova, 2006; Lymbery, 2001; Menter, 2010).

Day argues, that nowhere was this more apparent than within the context of the New Labour administration and their campaign to raise standards. As part of this campaign the 'autonomous teacher culture had to be remodelled, with New Labour claiming that it exhibited a' *luddite mentality*'.(Day.C., et al., 2006 :22). A mentality, which to the government, appeared to be resistant to change: mired in old and outmoded practices. The language used within policy documents around this time reflected the new ways in which teachers were perceived; whilst being,

'operationally central, they were in essence, strategically marginal. (Jones 2003:162 cited in Allen & Ainley, 2010).

The new view of professionalism in teaching, considered teaching to be a technical rather than a creative activity : practitioners being articulated as technicians; expected to perform within a managerialist culture, a culture peppered with terms such as: lesson delivery, maximisation of learning outputs. (ibid). This terminology permeated the popular press with pseudo military, patriarchal terms such as: standards task force, zero tolerance, and descriptions of Ofsted² regulators as 'The scourge of the teachers.' Professional autonomies were concomitantly undermined by the exclusion of bodies that up until the late 1980s had been considered to be 'professional partners', such as the National Union of Teachers; these bodies were excluded from debates on pedagogy in favour of centrally funded programmes that were offered via competitive tender to research organisations. To further reinforce ideas about what a 'professional teacher' should look like, centralised bodies such as the General Teaching Council offered programmes of continuing professional development which reflected national aims and priorities (Kubiak, 2010). The changing role of the teacher is also reflected in the evolution of the inspectorate,

² Office for Standards in Education

from the quasi collaborative approach of HMI as it developed during the post war period, to the creation of Ofsted and the way in which the new inspectorate acted in relation to educational change (S. Maclure, 2000). Moving from the collaborative liberal approach of the post Norwood era to backlash of the post Plowden³ era.

The result of this need to define and manage professions and professional identities has created a new duality within the notion of professionalism. A duality which articulates the difference between the control mechanisms of professionalism, discussed earlier, versus the notion of the professional as an autonomous and agentive being (Trowler, 2002). The term '*professionalism*' has been used for some time now, to denote the kind of professionalism that is regulated by inspection, regulations and audit. In contrast, the word, '*professionalism*', has been coined to denote a sense of : identity, enterprise and self- regulation that is the cornerstone of a salient professional identity.(Trowler, 2002). The kind of professionalism that Ball terms 'authentic', able to inculcate' issues of moral purpose, emotional investment and political awareness, adeptness and acuity',(Eggins, 1997 :6 cited in Ball 1999 : 9). The type of professionalism that has the ability to work with policy innovations without necessarily being professionally constrained by them; the type of professional that creates resistance discourses that are not recusant by nature, but rather inculcate the new with tried and tested effective methods, to provide new forms of professional self- salience and resilience that engender trust and inspire confidence in those served by that professional.

As discussed in throughout this section, much research into to what constitutes professionalism and professionalism up until recently has focused upon a binary view of the term. Viewing the professional as either autonomous and agentive, or lacking in agency: prey to managerialist strategies which undermine the sense of professionalism. But more recently, a new theme has emerged: the theme Whitchurch terms- '*the third space*'. (Whitchurch, 2008: 4). This idea is used to describe , '*unbounded and blended professionals*', and supports other views from across the sector that new professional identities are emerging; identities that do not

³ The Plowden Report 1967- a report which reflected progressive ideas on education – see appendix 02.

form around the axis of a single professional concept, but are being forged from a complex inculcation of institutional, professional, para-professional and societal discourses. This has also been noted within the realm of further education by Harrison, Clarke, Reeve, and Edwards who extend this, noting the ways in which current literature on organisational management is investigating the increased levels of blurring between employees work and home lives (Farrell 2000 in R. Harrison, Clarke, Reeve, & Edwards, 2003 :102). This view depicts professionals as being in possession of a far greater degree of agency than many writers up until now, have assumed. It suggests that rather than the view that professionals are either completely recalcitrant to change and view managerialist discourse as inimical to their professionalism, that today's public service professionals are appropriating discourses in order to forge their own new professionalities: that they are agentive within the formation of their own professional identities, creating and carving new hybrid highly adaptive identities that are being deployed in order to survive this époque of intense change. It may also allow for the uncomfortable reality that some professionals prefer the managerial version of their role – it provides strong guidance about what they should be doing, which can be comforting in times of uncertainty and change. To some extent, this is also reflected within the field of higher education, particularly within teaching contexts in which new ways of online working are necessitating different professional identities and ways of working (Baxter, 2010a). Macfarlane argues that higher education is creating an army of para professionals that are emerging as a result of managerial discourses and greater emphasis on online teaching. But the term para-professional and para- academic is in itself ,highly contested and raises questions on what constitutes a professional academic in evolving climate of the Higher Education of today (Baxter, 2011; Macfarlane, 2011). In order to explore the literature surrounding this third space, the extant literature is discussed within section seven point five under the heading: The role of resistance discourse.

The idea that new identities are being formed by professionals at operational levels, supports recent methodologies of identity analysis which investigate professional identities using phenomenological, biographical, and ethnographic methods. This is discussed further within section six.

Professionals will have a sense of the profession: they will possess a professional identity that differentiates them from other professions. (Avis, 2005; Bessant, 2004; Weiss Gal & Welbourne, 2008), and via which, other professions gain understanding of what it means to be: a professional teacher, social worker, youth worker, or nurse.

Inherent within the final category above, is the need for the professional to express their professional selves within the context of their profession: to be the type of nurse, teacher, social worker or youth worker that they feel to be most effective in carrying out their role; to exhibit and manifest the qualities and traits that they believe will make a difference to the public that they serve (Apesoa-Varano, 2007). The extent to which professionals enter the public sector due to a feeling that their personal qualities and experiences will both enhance and add value to their role, has been well documented within research across the public sector (Day, 2004; Jeffrey, 2008; Leece & Leece, 2011). It has also been highlighted in a number of recent reports and papers that explore to what extent managerial definitions of professionalism as defined within section five, articulate patriarchal values that undermine and in some cases, negate traditionally feminine values of caring, intuition and holistic views, which articulate feminist approaches to professional roles (lloyd, 2005; Smulyan, 2004). Explorations within the field of nursing and social work have investigated the value driven nature of these professions and explored to what extent market driven, neo liberal policies are side-lining these values, replacing them with the need to attain targets which have no professional relevance and reflect neither Kantian nor instrumentalist approaches to the ways in which public sector professionals serve individuals and concomitantly, society (Fagermoen, 1997; I. Ferguson & Woodward, 2009).

Conclusion

Considering what it means to be a professional social worker, nurse, doctor, police person, youth worker or teacher, as research discussed within section six reflects, engenders both values and ideological positioning, without which, professional decisions and judgements would be difficult to achieve. Value driven rationales for entering these professions affect the ways in which individuals engage with both initial education and the ways in which these individuals operate within the field. Target driven environments often create dichotomies between mutually agreed outcomes and the ways in which these outcomes are measured. Within the context of multi-agency working, the collaboration which is engendered when professionals from differing disciplines work alongside each other, is tested when agreed shared goals and shared core values are negated by national and institutional ways of measuring success which bear little or no resemblance to concomitant impact on neither individual nor society. Governmental and institutional negations of core values create resistance discourses, often radical forms of professional operation, which are beginning to create forms of professional practices that ironically, successive governments, have worked so assiduously to suppress.

6. Defining professional identities: conceptual frameworks within the public sector

This section explores the ways in which professional identities have been explored across the public sector. It begins with a contextualisation of professional identity and the ways in which, other forms of identity research have contributed to the field. It continues by discussing which approaches have been employed , and the reasons behind the use of these particular approaches. It concludes with a visual representation of the key facets that emerge from the research as being most influential in forming and shaping professional identities.

6.1. Professional identities contextualised.

The idea of professional identity is complex and has been explored in many ways drawing upon literature from across the areas of philosophy, psychology, linguistics, and political theory. (De Fina, Schiffrin, & Bamberg, 2006; Langridge, 2007). Studies exploring professional identities have drawn much from explorations of how individuals create personal identities under the most testing of circumstances: studies such as Snow and Anderson's study into the construction of identity among the homeless (Snow & Anderson, 1987), and analyses of vignettes and discourses of holocaust survivors such as those discussed by Dimsdale, (Dimsdale, 1980). Analyses of the formation of cultural and national identities also contribute much to the field, particularly when viewed through the lens of migrant communities. (S. a. D. G. Hall, P, 1996). Whilst these cases of identity formation may be perceived as being at the extreme end of a continuum, they do offer the identity researcher useful insights into how individuals create and maintain salient and effective identities in the face of identities that they may be enjoined to adopt by society. (Dimsdale, 1980; Snow & Anderson, 1987). One of the principal pressures on public sector

professional identities, is that placed upon them by the very public that they seek to serve. Over the last 20 years, public perception of both the way in which the public sector functions and also the professionals that operate within it, has diminished and been undermined by a number of factors.(Parliament, 2011) . These range from perceived and actual failings within the profession, for example: The Victoria Climbié enquiry, (Lamming., 2003; Reid, 2005),to a certain degree of confusion on the part of service users, in terms of defining the true role of the professional, within a given situation. This is particularly prevalent in situations in which multi-agency working is engendering a certain amount of boundary crossing on the part of the professionals working within this context. (M. Atkinson, Wilkin, A., Stott, A., Doherty, P. and Kinder, K., 2002; Daniels et al., 2007; Gaskell & Leadbetter, 2009). In taking the example of education, there have been changes too to the ways in which the public perceive the role of the teacher: emerging as a result of negative press attention and increasingly limited extents of autonomy within the teaching profession. (Alexander, 2010 ; S. Ball, 1998; Gerwitz & ball, 1996). The discourse of choice, and the centrality of the service user as customer, has also created an increasingly complex environment within which to create and sustain a salient professional identity. This has led to a diminution in the status of the profession, again, leading to the creation of resistance discourses and alternative ways of forging salient identities in testing professional contexts.(M. MacLure, 1993).

Cross sector research reveals that public perception, both negative and positive, has considerable impact on the professional self. (Aronson, 2011; S. Ball, 1998; Davies & Thomas, 2003; Jeffrey et al., 2009; Leece & Leece, 2011; Parker, 2009), and it is important to consider the ways in which professional identities develop and maintain professional resilience in order to deal with this.(S. J. Ball, 1999; Gewirtz, Ball, & Bowe, 1993; Gleeson & Knights, 2006; Reid, 2005). Public perceptions of failings within professions are also feature as key elements, inherent within the complex and non-linear ways in which policies are formed, and the ways in which the discourse within these policies, concomitantly impacts upon the professional identities of the individuals within target occupational groups .This is discussed more fully within section seven.

A considerable contribution to the field of professional identity research, has emerged from the field of sexual and gender identities and is particularly useful in considering the ways in which, conceptualisation of dominance and power have coloured resistance discourses in these areas. (Davies & Thomas, 2003; Dobrow & Higgins, 2005; Flowers, 1997; R. Josselson, 1987). This is useful, particularly in traditionally female orientated public sector professions such as nursing, teaching, and social work. (Apesoa-Varano, 2007; S. Farrell, 2010; Öhlén & Segesten, 1998; Reynolds, 2007; Wiles, 2010). Realms within which, modernist explorations of identity have tended to negate feminist perspectives. (Farnham, 1987; Lloyd, 2005; Rose, 1982)

Considerations of gender and professional identity have also been used within a number of studies in order to challenge policy discourses which privilege more traditionally patriarchal approaches; predicated upon discourses which overtly and covertly describe prescriptive forms of professionalism in response to political and economic requirements. (Davies & Thomas, 2001, 2003; Öhlén & Segesten, 1998). Concomitantly, there is value in analysing discourses which challenge established forms of being, within certain public sector roles; for example, areas of New Public Management style of leadership, which stresses collaborative and preventative elements of public sector work, as opposed to a confrontational and crisis management approach. A particularly powerful example of this occurs within the work done by Davies and Thomas in their investigation into how policy discourses aimed at inculcating principles of the New Public Management and Community Orientated Policing impact on the professional identities of the police. (Davies & Thomas, 2003; Thomas & Davies, 2002).

6.2. Identity analytic approaches employed within the field of public sector professional identity research

The major psychological theories of the 20th century have provided the basis for many of the understandings around identity development and concomitantly, professional identity development; engendering a complex mix of biological and psychological attributes that go to make up understandings of identities.(Bandura, 1977; Erikson, 1975; Piaget, 1953) .But within the last 15 years, some of these theories have been criticized by both postmodernists such as Foucault , Lyotard and Ricoeur,(M Foucault, 1980; Lyotard, 1984; Ricoeur, 1984),and also by feminist approaches, such as those taken by Gilligan, Butler, Lloyd, Brown and Rose, who claim that these theories are too individualist, too positivist and founded on a Universalist view that is predominantly based upon the ethnocentric theories of white, middle class men.(Kinman, 2001; Lloyd, 2005; Rose, 1982; Vähäsantanen, et al., 2008). The feminist view of identity formation and research is supported by work founded upon the principles of third wave feminism which privileges: the anecdotal, subjective and story-telling aspects of identity articulation via discourse,and denies the idea that identity formation can be analysed according to a set of pre-ordained 'truths'. It is supported by Lloyd's, view of feminist philosophical orientation in prioritizing the,' phenomenological, contextual and relativistic viewpoint', over that of the so called rational view. (ibid).

Proponents of this school of thought, also claim that these theories of identity, privilege maintain and perpetuate the values and interests of certain social groups, at the expense of others; that they posit views as psychosocial realities, based largely upon experiences of the authors. It could be argued that no framework evolves from a notionally objective position, that, to a certain extent, all frameworks developed and used to investigate identity are expository of both the research interests and personal experiences of the individual researcher. Because of this, many of those researching public sector professional identities, have developed different approaches, which they view as more inclusive, based upon the stories and narratives of the individuals and viewing the research from a feminist, phenomenological, and ethnographic standpoints which negate the notion of objectivity, in favour of the notion that all standpoints are subjective, dependent upon the perception of the individual, and that the standpoint of the individual is key to the notion of an individual's identities. (Baldwin, 2008; Baxter, 2011; Dörnyei & Ushioda,

2009; Hanson, 2009; M. MacLure, 1993; Nias, 1989; Wiles, 2010). The centrality of the individual, the view that the professional identity is part of a continuum and trajectory, linked inextricably to the personal identity of the individual is discussed in the following section.

6.3. Identity as trajectory: the meld of personal and professional

‘a work in progress, shaped by efforts – both individual and collective- to create a coherence through time that threads together successive forms of participation in the definition of a person incorporating the past and the future in the experience of the present’.(E. Wenger, 1998:45).

The idea of identities as, ‘trajectories’ ,(Wenger 1998:45), supports Beijaard’s assertion, that professional identities are like any other social identity and consist of consist of sub identities that more or less harmonize, (D. Beijaard, Meijer, P.C., and Verloop, N, 2004). The idea that professional identities are trajectories, built from the merging and melding of other identities, has is supported by a number of researchers. Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop’s 2004 literature review,(D. Beijaard, Meijer, P.C., and Verloop, N, 2004 et al),investigated ways and means of researching publics sector identities, in this case teaching identities. Their review revealed that teaching identity formation is perceived to be an ongoing process of interpretation and reinterpretation of experiences and that, professional identities are shaped by person and context. Their work also showed that professional teaching identities consist of sub identities that merge within an individual, highlighting that whilst the identities of individuals are shaped in a socio cultural context; the individuals themselves are agentic in the formation of their own identities. This work is also supported by work done by Woods and Jeffrey, Nias and Day who although agreeing that identities are shifting, stress that core values, beliefs and practices infer greater agency within professional identity formation, than had previously been attributed by some post- modern, post - structuralist writers. (Day, 2004; Day.C., et

al., 2006; Nias, 1989; Woods & Jeffrey, 2002). This view is also key to the idea of *third space identities*, explored within section five, and the role of resistance discourse, explored within section seven point five.

However a number of researchers, who see identity as trajectory, also tend to suggest that once a new identity has been embraced, that the old one is put aside. (Lave & Wenger, 1991) An idea which is not supported by the substantial body of feminist longitudinal and ethnographic work on identity formation, which examines the formation of both personal and professional identities, from cradle to grave. (Josselson, 2007; D. P. McAdams, 1997). This view supports the view that, within a single person, professional identities that are learned are integrated with other identities and understandings, to produce a composite collage of shifting understandings and life views. (Clandinin, 1986; M. MacLure, 1993; D. P. McAdams, Josselson, R., and Lieblich, A., 2006). This is predicated upon an acknowledgement that the old identities provide a bridge between new and old. In the same way as a second foreign language is integrated more readily if the learner is already familiar with language learning, and is able to use not only familiar principles, but also remembers the feelings engendered with the first experience, and is able to employ the strategies that they found to be most effective within the context of their initial experience. (Baxter, 2004). This is particularly useful when considering the role of professional learning upon professional identities, considered in section nine. This implies that, for researchers investigating identity, there is a need to consider not just a single identity, but multiple conflating identities that combine to form a whole. For this particular study this indicates that the research method, needs not only to be able to uncover and express the primary teaching identity, but also to articulate and represent, the ways in which the teaching identities interlink and meld with other aspects and identities within the individual. But even within this theory of identity acquisition there is additional complexity. Work carried out by Cremin and Baker into teacher writer identities in the classroom, revealed that even within the teaching identity there were competing pressures to articulate particular facets of the teacher role. In this case the teacher as writer. This was found to conflict with the reasons that many had entered the profession, 'most are drawn to teach due to a love of reading, not writing.....reading not writing forms the backbone of teachers' literacy

experiences and this has an impact on their classroom practice where reading is preferred over composition.' (Cremin & Baker, 2010 :3).

Ways in which professional development can work to overcome conflicting elements within identities is discussed in section nine.

The view that identities are unstable, that they are shaped and formed via a complex mix of innate characteristics, socio cultural influences and shifting hegemonies, aligns with a post-modern ideology of identity (Edwards and Usher 1994). Certain characteristics are of this, namely the unstable and shifting elements of identity are explored within feminist views of the individual as agentive within their own identity formation, and is articulated within the work of Husserl, who views the identity as *'interaction between a person's consciousness and the world inhabited by the individual.'* (Husserl 1970:282). This phenomenological approach privileges the investigation of identity formation as a focus on life and circumstances, *'as they appear to the individual'* (Langridge 2007:13). This view of identities, viewed through the lens of the individual, rather than leading to a solipsistic view of identity in which the individual's own view of the world can be used to determine the views and therefore identities of all individuals, suggests rather, an archetypal type of quest in which the individual chooses which elements and influences to incorporate into their identities, whilst also making a conscious effort to reject others and links to a philosophical existentialist view of identity, which privileges the idea of personal agency in identity formation, and supports a phenomenological feminist approach to identity research. This relates to the discussion in section five, (Lingard, Reznick, DeVito, & Espin, 2002); which highlights the primacy of employing a methodology in which the individual's articulation of their identity as axiomatic to an understanding of what form that identity takes. This is supported by a number of research projects within the public sector, which have investigated both the manifestation of professional identity and the ways in which a positive and salient professional identity can be inculcated and sustained. (Ewens, 2003; Fagermoen, 1997; Menter, 2010; Roberts, 2000)

6.4. The role of community in identity formation.

This constructivist view of identity formation, within which, the role of community plays a key part, has conceptually underpinned a number of studies on identity formation whilst also forming a key part of studies into the role of learning and identity. (Hurley, 2009; Kumpusalo et al., 1994; Muir & Weatherall, 2010; Wiles, 2010).(Thomas, 2007).This viewpoint *assumes that*:

- *Individual change is not separable from social change;*
- *individual understanding is always distributed in its nature;*
- *language only has meaning in the context of activity when words are being used in a particular way;*
- *people are agents in solving problems;*
- *perception and action arise together and co-construct each other.*
- *People act with the environment. (Bruner, 1996)*
-

Investigation of the influence of communities or , as Lave and Wenger term them, 'communities of learning', (Lave & Wenger, 1991),has been influential in a number of research studies, although the ways in which and the extent to which, differing communities influence professional identities is contested. Initial ideas of the ways in which individuals move from the periphery of communities of practice, to full participation have been questioned by a number of researchers who claim that while the model is useful, it does not fully consider the following:

- The extent to which the individual is considered to be a full member of the community or on the periphery.
- The role of language: to what extent is an individual able to articulate their participation and identity within a community, via discourse; and importantly, in what ways are individuals excluded from these professional communities by the ways in which they manipulate and interpret discourses. (Oppenheim, Cox, & Platt, 2010; Rowson, Broome, & Jones, 2010).
- Individuals interact with numerous communities during the course of their professional practice; to what extent is it possible to define the extent of the impact of each, upon the professional identity. (Oppenheim, et al., 2010)

Kearsey's study into the professional communities of Higher Education lecturers emphasised that whilst lecturers acknowledged the varying communities that were influential on how they felt about their practices, the extent to which each community influenced their practice, was not so clear. An interesting facet to emerge from the report was the outright rejection of certain communities that the researcher assumed may have an impact upon those individuals (Kearsey, 2007). This is something of a departure from Wenger's idea of legitimate peripheral participation as a straightforward trajectory between newcomer and master practitioner, supporting the notion instead that underlying hegemonies and interrelated communities of practice, may have as much of an impact on attaining and sustaining a professional identity, as the aspirational community of practice.

The constructivist formation of identity is also a key element of constructivist ways of learning and is viewed as central to understandings of the ways in which identities are formed and sustained by differing types of professional learning. This is explored in section nine.

Studies of identity across the public sector have aimed to both pin down the nebulous entity termed identity, whilst also exploring how professional identities are articulated and to what extent they in turn, are influenced by the environments within which they operate. (Baxter, 2010a; Hanson, 2009; R. Harrison, et al., 2003; M. MacLure, 1993; Woods & Jeffrey, 2002). In defining professional identities, the studies concomitantly seek to analyse where changes to these identities are taking place, and the extent to which these changes are affecting the efficacy and self salience of the professionals concerned. (Baldwin, 2008; Robinson & Cottrell, 2005). As Menter points out,

‘in order to develop a broad sociological understanding of teachers’ work and professional identities, we need to portray structure and agency, creativity and constraint. (Menter 2005: 5).

But these studies also look to achieving some understanding of how identities are shaped by their environment, but how in turn, they are agentive shaping both occupational area and public service. This line of study is of particular interest to those researching in the field of public sector reforms, who look to find out why successive governments place public sector reform at the centre of their manifestos and subsequent policies. As Ghobidian, Viney and Redwood, in their paper of unintended consequences of public sector reform point out:

‘why after 30 years of reform does the government’s reform agenda continue to be so dramatic? Does it reflect a perception that public services are failing....or does it reveal a set of unintended consequences produced by the reform to date , which future reform is intended to correct ?’(Ghobidian, Viney, & Redwood, 2009 :1515).

An exploration of unintended outcomes of public sector reform, is intrinsically linked to professional identities and the effects of these reforms upon these identities. If outcomes could be more accurately predicted, then this alone presents a powerful rationale for research in this area.

The feminist view of identity formation and research also supports work by Jephcote, Salisbury, Wiles and Baxter, within the fields of FE, HE and social work, which assert that identities cannot be boxed into professional and personal. (Baxter, 2011; Jephcote & Salisbury, 2009; Wiles, 2010) : that whilst there is some degree of separation between the two, there are too many overlaps between the biographical formation of identities, and the professional formation of identities, to successfully

parse the pair. The discussions in section five and seven, whilst revealing the power of hegemonies to influence and shape professional identities, concomitantly point up core elements of the personality, core ethical values and biographical elements, as being equally if not more influential in their construction. Exploration of third space identities emerges throughout the field as being highly dependent upon research methods taking a phenomenological, person centred approach which perceives the stories of the individuals as being a definitive articulation of their professional identities.(Alvesson & Willmott, 2004; Baldwin, 2008; Davies & Thomas, 2001, 2003) This, in contrast to a more top down approach in which, policies are considered as more definitively enjoining adoption of a particular professional identity. This is not to infer that policy does not have a role to play in professional identity formation, but to be viewed in rather the same way as professional learning, in terms of the ways that this too is integrated, rejected or inculcated within the professional identity.

This supports research across the public sector, which stresses the protean quality of the individual, to shape and colour their professional identities as tools with which to make sense of their professional environments, emphasising necessarily centripetal qualities of professional identity, in unifying the professional with the personal.(Baxter, 2010a; Day, 2004; M. Foucault, 2002; M. Foucault & Gordon, 1980; Gewirtz, et al., 2006; I Goodson, 1981; Jeffrey, et al., 2009; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Macfarlane, 2004; M. MacLure, 1993; Öhlén & Segesten, 1998; E. Wenger, 1998). As Ernest Greenwood incisively articulates in his seminal article on being a professional,

*‘ The professional is a person whose work becomes his life’,
(Greenwood cited in R. Merton, 1967)*

The elliptical notion of the strong links between professional and personal identity has been explored within the context of: social work, policing, FE, HE, and teaching. It has also been to some extent, exploited by policy makers who use this grey and somewhat occluded area of the notion of professionalism , to encourage cultures of , ‘competitive presenteeism’, (Davies & Thomas, 2003:692), valorise long working

hours and privilege masculine discourses of what it means to be a professional within that particular context. In this case; the police. This has interesting implications for the emergent field of identity management and regulation, (Alvesson & Willmott, 2004),discussed in greater detail in section seven of this report.

Work highlighting the both the constructivist nature of professional identity acquisition, and the primacy of the role of others in creation of salient identities, features along with the interrelationship between learning and identity in identity research across the public sector. (M. Atkinson, Wilkin, A., Stott, A., Doherty, P. and Kinder, K., 2002; Baldwin, 2008; Baxter, 2011; I Goodson, 1981; I. Goodson & Goodson, 1992; Jeffrey, et al., 2009; Knowles, 1992; M. MacLure, 1993; Menter, 2010; P. Sikes, Measor, & Woods, 1985; P. Sikes, Measor, L. and Woodes, P., 1985; E. Wenger, 1998; Wiles, 2010). These studies uncover the agentic facet of identity formation; again moving away from the strathonian, or 'head in the sand', idea that professionals are passive recipients of policy discourses and highlighting the ways in which elements of discourses are inculcated, rejected by, and reshaped within context and process of the articulation of new and evolving identities.

Longitudinal research into identities, which also includes professional identities, highlights both the social constructivist view of identity formation whilst also investigating the ways in which the formation of identities that are used outside of the workplace, integrate with and shape, professional identities and saliences within the workplace.(R Josselson, 1987; Josselson, 2007). Longitudinal research has also been used to track the progression of professional identities, examining identities from the initial training period to post qualifying and full practitioner status. Research done by Niemi, (Niemi, 1997), on medical students professional identity during the pre- clinical years, tracked 110 medical students from the beginning of their training, and used a combination of : 'learning logs, identity status interviews and professional views and choices.' (ibid: 411). The study used psychological tools to identify the state of the identity at any given time ; using the Adams et al model, ' Objective measure of ego identity status', as a basis for the interviews. (Adams, Bennion, & Huh, 1989 in Niemi 1997 :410).These were analysed in combination with an educational and development tool: the learning log. An interesting element of this particular study was the use of a separate interview to concentrate upon professional

views and choices. During this interview, the researchers asked questions not only on the profession but also elicited comments on the ways in which the future professional viewed themselves in terms of profession and organisation. The results were then divided into those deemed to have, 'achieved professional identity', denoted by exploration and commitment to one or more professional plans or specialisms. Those whose identity status was as yet, not committed to a particular specialism, and those who fell into the category of; 'vague fantasies and tentative ideas.' Other longitudinal studies of particular impact, include the Sommerlad study, located within the field of law. This study was carried out with fully practising lawyers working in a variety of settings and explored both the operational professional identity of the lawyers, whilst also analysing their strategic overview of their work, (Sommerlad, 2007), and included an exploration of the policy dimension. This reflects strategy also used by Baldwin in his exploration of the professional identities of mental health nurses. (Baldwin, 2008). A particularly interesting facet of these explorations is the category which explores the, '*vague fantasies and explorations*', element of identities. This has been highlighted within work done by Wenger and also work done within an HE context, as being an area of considerable potentiality for the shaping and forming of future salient professional identities: the point at which, strategic professional learning has particular power to mediate between individuals who may have a somewhat halcyon view of the professional past, as compared their rather dystopic view of the professional future. (Baxter, 2011; E. C. Wenger & Snyder, 2000). This is expanded upon within section eight.

Longitudinal studies are thought by many to be particularly relevant to the study of professional identities and the contexts in which they are working. Fulfilling a dual function of examination of both the individual professional identities and the ways in which they are impacting on the professional area and service user. (Hurley, 2009; Thomas, 2007). These researchers argue that this permits a view of emergent identities which although coloured by policy discourse, is revelatory in the ways in which the identities both resist and alter original discourses. This has a nuanced effect of putting the individual as the 'subject in action', (Lloyd, 2005:22), which recognises, as discussed earlier, the need for analysis of not only the ways in which policy discourses are interpreted, but more particularly how the individual goes about

manipulating this policy discourse to create new identities : identities which align more closely with what they feel to be the core elements of the role.(Alvesson 2001, Davies and Thomas 2003,Baldwin 2006).This approach, although not confined to longitudinal work , also has been found to be particularly effective within this context, in terms of its ability to reveal interesting insights into discursive repertoires around gender, class and ethnicity. This also concurs with both feminist analytical frameworks whilst also grasping the multifarious understandings of the individuals, in their own words. Longitudinal methods of identity research, dominate in the fields of nursing, teaching, police and social work where the understandings of the individuals are key to the subsequent analyses of identity evolution. (Baxter, 2011; Davies & Thomas, 2003; Ewens, 2003; Fagermoen, 1997; Hotho, 2008; Lloyd, 2005; R. K. Merton, 1972). This method is also incorporated within a phenomenological psychological narrative approach which engenders a storytelling and biographical approach to identity formation; an approach posited by a number of post- modern, post- structuralist theorists: Ricoeur, Van Manen, Langridge, and Husserl. (Husserl, 1997; Ricoeur, 1984; Van Maanen, 1988; Van Manen, 1990a, 1990b, 2002).

Within the context of the narrative methodology above, metaphor and anecdote are viewed as being important in terms of the ways in which individuals create powerful representations of areas in which they are experiencing cognitive dissonance or gaps in their identities which they are struggling to come to terms with. (Baldwin, 2008; Baxter, 2010a; R. Harrison, et al., 2003). Narrative methods employed within the context of identity research may also employ emergent methods of visual representation to analyse ways in which individuals perceive themselves in relation to sector user, organisation, other agencies, government and their profession. (Reynolds, 2007). Narrative interpretation draws upon both Sack's methods of conversational analysis,(Sommerlad, 2007), whilst also inculcating facets of the social cognitive perspectives inherent within methodologies posited by Potter and Weatherall ,(Potter, 1987), it has value in ethno- methodological terms, in revealing the links between the micro structures of conversation and the macro structures of social institutions and societies. (Bathmaker & Avis, 2005). Use of discourse analytic frameworks within identity research is discussed in greater detail in section seven.

6.5. Visual emergences of identity

A final methodological area emerging from the field, is the use of imagery, iconography and visual methods within the context of identity research. For some time now, it has been explored within the context of the history of education, investigating the ways in which the idealised teacher is portrayed within pictures and imagery, both within the profession and also within the wider media.(Grosvenor, Lawn, & Rousmaniere, 1999; Wall, 2008). Wall's examination of images of teachers in careers and trade union publications between 1940 and 2000, provides an interesting discussion on the ways in which teachers were visualised on the covers of house journals of the NUT (National Union of Teachers), published as *The Schoolmaster and Woman Teacher's chronicle* , until 1962 when it became known as ' *The Teacher*'.(Wall, 2008). As wall points out, 'front covers are designed to attract and identify their readership'. (ibid: 318). In order to analyse the imagery and its concomitant impact on professional identities, sociological and historical / biographical approaches to understanding identity, were employed. In this case,with particular reference to discourses on mothering, nurturing and teaching. This method of analysing identity emergence and evolution, has been employed as a useful adjunct to other methods of identity analysis and is particularly relevant in terms of reflecting public perceptions of professionals. (ibid).

Conclusion

An analysis of literature within the field of public service identity research has revealed the elements articulated in the diagram below as being influential in the development and sustenance of public sector identities. The extent to which they are complementary and conflicting, and the comparative influence of each, is an important area for consideration in future research in this area. Figure two below, offers a summary of the elements discussed in this chapter as being influential in the shaping of professional identity. The outer circles within the diagram, represent the links between professional and personal identities: areas which may be revelatory both in terms of providing insight into understanding core motivation for both entering

a particular profession, whilst also providing a background perspective of the personal hegemonies that may colour the way in which the professional identity evolves.

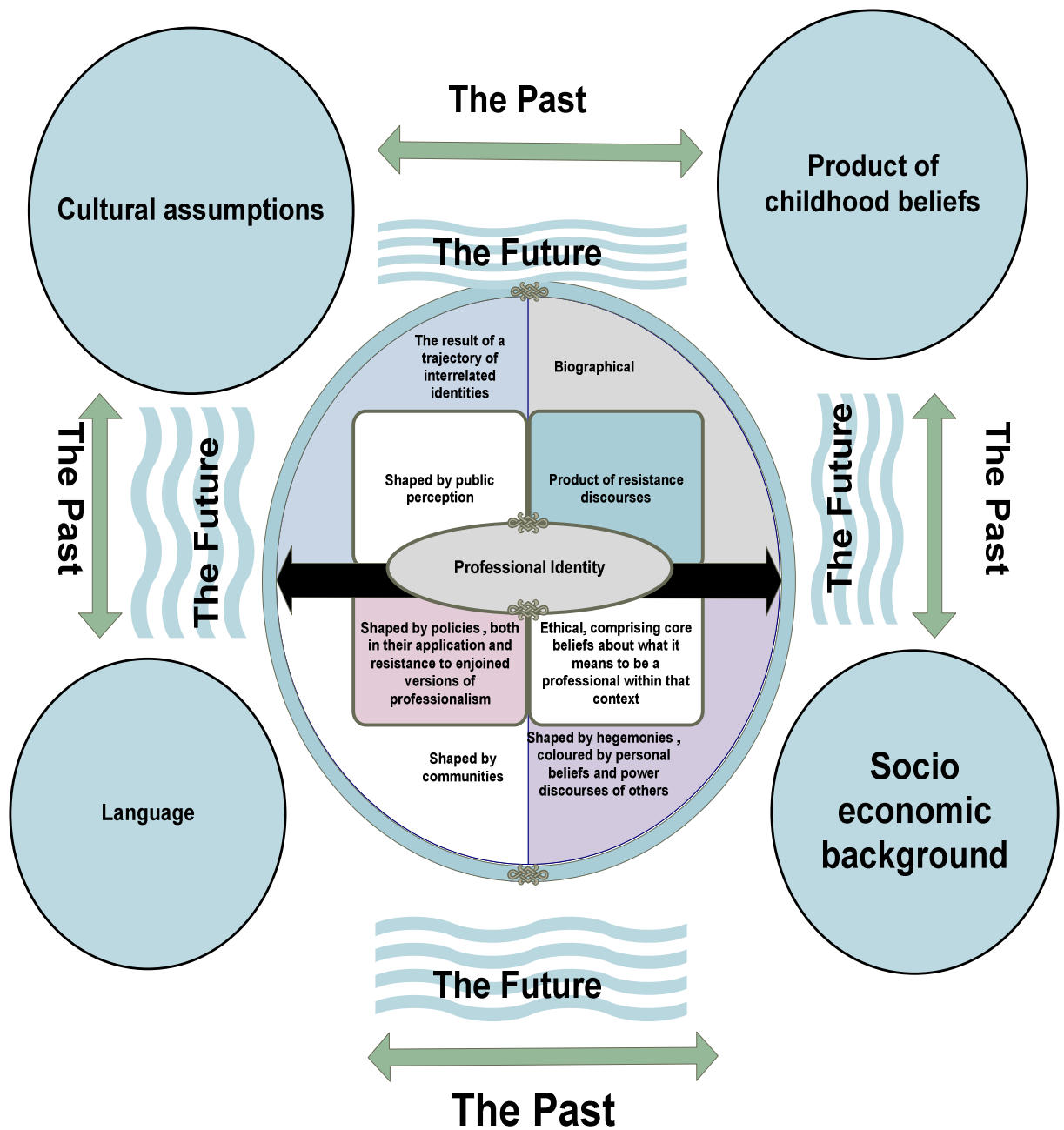


Figure 2 Components of Professional Identity

7. Policy documentation and its role in shaping professional identities

7.1. Background

Social policies are formed in what Hall terms, 'the policy paradigm', a framework of ideas and standards that specify not only goals of policy and the kind of instruments that can be used to attain them, but also the very nature of the problems they are meant to be addressing, much of which is, 'taken for granted and unamenable to scrutiny as a whole'. (Hall 1993: 279). Policy analysts such as Hall and Heffernan (2002), argue that policy only changes when the existing paradigm is in crisis. It is against this background that public sector policies are created and implemented and against this background that subsequent analysis of policy discourses may be evaluated in terms of their impact on the professional identities of public sector professionals, and concomitantly the way in which this, in turn impacts upon the services themselves.

As has been discussed, policy development is rarely the linear process that it popularly purports to be, and ethnographic studies into the ways in which policies are developed, have interesting implications for their concomitant impact upon professional identities. One of the most comprehensive studies into the ways in which policies are developed, was carried out by Stevens, in his ethnographic study into the use of evidence in policy making in the UK. (Stevens, 2011).

Within the study he outlines the differing sources that senior civil servants use in order to create policy:

'The UK government, through its managerialist attempts to control the performance of public sector actors, operates a massive exercise in the collection and storage of data. The many reports that result for analysis of these datasets have to jostle for attention with a host of other evidence. I counted 15 types of evidence that entered into policy debates. In addition to internally collected government data and externally produced academic analysis, the list included opinion polls, reports by think tanks...from management consultancies, previous policy papers produced by various parts of the civil service, independent inquiries, reports of inspectorates or police and prisons, internal and externally commissioned evaluations of policy initiatives, various types of reports from abroad, press reports, television programmes, personal experience and personal opinion. Information from parliamentary debates was conspicuously absent from this list.' (Stevens 2011: 240).

His paper also notes the ways in which evidence is simplified, caveats ignored and occluded, in order to provide what he terms, 'policy which will sell,' (Stevens: 242), and to reduce the role of uncertainty as a barrier to action. Taking an example from the public services he quotes the case of a civil servant, taking the promising results of an evaluation of a particular scheme, a scheme in which,

'in common with many other social interventions- that people who are subject to intervention at the peak of their problems tend afterwards to improve.' This was then used to influence others within the meeting to make savings from their existing budgets in order to expand the favoured scheme.' (ibid: 243).....to create tough totemic policies .' (ibid: 249).

That policy may be constructed in such seemingly arbitrary manner and drawing from such a plethora of sources may be perceived to be both a strength and a weakness in terms of its ability to positively influence professional identities: a strength in terms of its ability to reflect societal requirements demanded of public service professionals, a weakness in terms of the ways in which it is reduced and simplified in order to provide the type of reductionist rapid fire responses that are

implied within the second statement: responses which may in their fulfilment of political requirements, in the longer term, serve neither profession nor service user.

The field of social policy has seen a number of dramatic shifts that have taken place since the Second World War. After the Beveridge report in 1942, (Beveridge cited in Hudson and Lowe), the government introduced many reforms, the aim of which, was to extend the role of the state in key areas of social policy. These reforms extended into the fields of health (1946 National health service act) , Income support (1945 family allowance Act , National insurance act and 1948 National assistance act). They reflected increased government intervention in relation to social care in order to, 'protect people from the negative effects of markets.' (Hudson et al 2004:44). The Beveridge report summarised the five target areas which policy needed urgently to address: poverty, inadequate housing, ill health, lack of educational opportunity and unemployment. The Keynesian approach around which the new reforms were based began to be rejected in the mid 70's, and was finally dispensed with after the Callaghan speech of 1976, which outlined the failure of previous measures to cut taxes and boost government spending, paving the way for a new era of Thatcherism and the so called 'rolling back of the state: the reduction of the role of the state within the context of the public sector. (Hudson : 49). These policies also heralded an emphasis on free markets and 'supply side economics designed to promote, flexibility, innovation and economic competitiveness, (Jessop 1994:4). Jessop terms this '*the Schumpeterian workfare post:*' (ibid:4) :national regime, in which social policy was subordinated to economic policy. The consequent hollowing out of the state, heralded an increased role of governance mechanisms designed to correct market and state failures. (Jessop 1994). Another key change during this period was a change in emphasis, from one of social rights, to that of individual responsibility. Marketisation continued to gain pace following the Thatcher administration, with Blair's third way agenda : predicated on the need to learn from the mistakes of the Conservative Government whilst also building upon their perceived successes. Blair's government also sought to restructure social democratic doctrines while responding to perceptions of globalisation and the so called knowledge economy. (S Ball, 1994). These changes instigated core changes within the role of the public sector , and alongside this, represented a significant change to working practices

and the ways in which public sector professionals were managed. The way in which these changes have impacted upon the professional identities of these individuals and the increasing levels of pressure engendered by these reforms, has been well documented by many researchers and provoked a wave of interest in changes in professional identity, and subsequent impact on both professional, service user and society. (S. Ball, 1998; S. Banks, 2005; C. Bradford, 2008; Gilroy, 1992)

The advent of the shift from a mixed economy to one in which the mechanisms of government play an increased role in the correction of market and state failures is reflected in public sector policies from the Callaghan administration onwards, policies which pertain to the five target areas outlined above. Key policies within the fields of: social work, youth work, teaching, HE, FE and nursing, are outlined in appendix 2.

7.2. Identity and policy discourses: narratives and interpretation.

This section looks at the role of policy discourses within the context of professional identity formation. It begins by setting out ways in which these discourses are operationalised, and are brought into the lives and practices of public sector professionals. It goes on to study the ways in which policy discourses have been studied within the context of professional identities, outlining frameworks used for this within studies across the public sector.

The second part of this section examines the ways in which policy discourses are used and resisted to form narratives of effective identities; identities which can be used to make meaning within the complex area of multi-agency working, financial constraints, and divergent views of what it means to be a public sector professional in today's society.

The section concludes with a discussion and diagrammatic representation of ways in which policy makers use policy to form professional identities, compared with the ways in which professionals inculcate policies into their understandings of professionalism in order to provide them with salient identities that facilitate propitious solutions to problems, issues and challenges in situations within their professional realm

7.3 Policy discourses: roles and risks

Policy discourses form a key element of professional identities providing an effective tool for both policy makers and public sector professionals. (Baldwin, 2008; S Ball, 1997; Iain Ferguson & Lavalette, 2004; Martin Rojo & Van Dijk, 1997; Thomas & Davies, 2005). Ways in which policies influence identities are multifarious; involving plurivocal interpretations which impact upon policy makers, public sector professionals and sector users alike. Whilst policy makers may seek to influence professional identities via policies, the lived realities of both public sector professionals and the ways in which sector users perceive both sector and professional; highlight the primacy of avoiding any reductionist interpretation of this area of identity formation.

The complexity of the relationship between policy discourse, existing professional identities and new and evolving identities instantiates the need for analytical approaches to the effects of policy discourses on professional identities that incorporates both a critical discourse approach, (Wodak & Meyer, 2001), whilst also taking a mediated discourse analytical approach in which,

‘The discourses of social issues through which, social actors produce the histories and habitus of their daily lives which is the ground upon which society is produced’. (ibid: 140).

As change to identities within the public sector have been identified as intrinsically and extrinsically connected with change within society, the joint approach permits analysis of policy discourse as a means of imposed social change, whilst also considering the ways in which it effects and is transformed by existing professional hegemonies. To create an agentive multisalient professional able to negotiate the hegemonic sway of proselytising policy discourses, and to instantiate professionally relevant interpretations which enhance professional practice.

This joint approach is outlined below and articulated by Potter and Wetherall, (Potter, 1987) and has been used in a number of studies in order to analyse the impact of policy discourse on professionals. Studies which have taken approaches that place emphasis on policy discourse as having a key impact on identity formation tend to adopt the CDA method. Those who perceive other elements of identity formation to be equally influential in identity construction, (illustrated in figure 2: core elements of professional identity), tend largely to adopt a more MDA approach. Studies taking a phenomenological approach, also adopt more facets of method 2; within the context of both data, and policy analysis. Although the differences between the two approaches are nuanced, the key difference between the two is the way in which the individual and practices is accorded centrality within method 2. This compared with method one, in which frontline practices, whilst acknowledged, are accorded less power than the power influences that are directed at these practices. In method one, resistance discourse may be perceived as a stumbling block to identity development, rather than the more agentive meaning inherent within method 2. In exploring which methods may be preferable for any particular study, these aspects are worthy of greater consideration than can be given within the scope of this review.

1.CDA = Discourse mediated via:	2.MDA = Discourse mediated via:
Social problems (Hurley, 2009; Martin Rojo & Van Dijk, 1997)	Social practices.(Alexander, 2001; L. Farrell, 2000)

1.CDA = Discourse mediated via:	2.MDA = Discourse mediated via:
Power relations (Doel et al., 2009; M Foucault, 1980)	Power relations are grounded in practice (Baldwin, 2008; M. MacLure, 1992)
Professional ideologies (Kumpusalo, et al., 1994; M. MacLure, 1993; Robinson & Cottrell, 2005)	Professional ideologies have a direct impact on practice. (Baxter, 2011; Clark, 2006; Wiles, 2010)
Biographies (both individual, professional and historically related to the history of that particular profession).(S. Bradford, 2008; Day, 2004)	Biographies (both individual, professional and historically related to the history of that particular profession .)(C. Bradford, 2008; Cross, et al., 2010; Vähäsantanen, et al., 2008)
Mediation between text and society and media(Currie & Suhomlinova, 2006; Søreide, 2007)	Mediation between text, society, and operational practices.(Baxter, 2011; Kuisma & Sandberg, 2008; Wiles, 2010)

Table 01: Methods of discourse analysis viewed in relation to professional identity research.

Once discourse has been analysed in terms of links to the headings above, themes are identified and explored within the context of focus groups, one to one interviews, and questionnaires. (Baxter, 2004, 2011; D. Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2004; Day, et al., 2005; Gilroy, 1992; M. MacLure, 1993), (this aspect is explored in greater detail in section 5). Links between over policy rhetoric and auricular intimations may then be analysed in terms of their emergence within the narrative accounts of identity given by research respondents. This method has also been used in order to ascertain the amount of re-inscription as well as the reproduction of discourses of intended strategic change. It is used within managerial literature as an evaluative tool to measure expected, intended, and covert effects of policy discourse on

professional practices and identities, looking to analyse resistance politics and possibilities for identity management.(Iain Ferguson & Lavalette, 2004; M Foucault, 1980; Gilroy, 1992; Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Thomas, 2007; Thomas & Davies, 2005).

The importance of consideration of the ways, in which policy impacts upon professional identities, is symptomatic of the myriad ways in which policy is relayed to the professional, and the extent to which this, is effective in permeating the professional role and identity. To relate this to learning, an example would be the difference between a development event engendering surface rather than deep learning. Within educational ideologies , this would be the point of metanoia , alluded to by Alsup, Heron, Wenger, Mezirow , as being the point at which , learning permeates the identity and changes the way in which the individual perceives both their role and their role in relation to their world.(Alsup, 2006; Heron, 1992; Mezirow, 1991; E. Wenger, 2007) Differing elements have been outlined in a number of studies involving policy and professional identities and are outlined below.

- 1. Professional development(PD) events (including profession specific events)**
- 2. Multi-agency PD events.**
- 3. Management meetings**
- 4. Professional meetings**
- 5. Case conferences**
- 6. Skill specific events (e.g. learning to use a particular piece of software to 'improve efficacy of practice).**
- 7. Supervision (between one experienced professional and another).**
- 8. Professional dialogue (practice focused dialogue between one professional and another – may be supervisor to professional or between two professionals of equal rank)**
- 9. Mentoring.**
- 10. Appraisal (including performance management and target setting).**
- 11. Informal networking**
- 12. Professional bodies (e.g. Higher Education Academy).**
- 13. Professional journals and publications.**
- 14. Conferences**
- 15. Institutional policy cascading events.**
- 16. Multimedia applications (websites, social networking tools, email briefings, interpretations via TV, Radio, film and theatre).**

A number of studies to date, outline the importance of the realm in which policy is cascaded; examining subsequent impact on individual identities, professions, and institutional imperatives. (Alvesson & Willmott, 2004; Baldwin, 2008; Gerwitz & Ball, 1996; Robinson & Cottrell, 2005). This aspect has also undergone extensive examination in terms of the ways in which organisations, agencies, government and institutions, instantiate, effect and overcome resistance to change. (Alvesson & Willmott, 2004; Bourdieu, 1992; Martin Rojo & Van Dijk, 1997).

In terms of the current economic, political and social climate, it is more important than ever to achieve an effective understanding of the multivariate ways in which policy hones professional identities whilst also appreciating the ways in which it creates a nexus between resistance discourses, existing identities and hegemonic shifts in terms of understandings of identities within the public sector. (Iain Ferguson & Lavalette, 2004; R. Harrison, et al., 2003; Thomas, 2007; Thomas & Davies, 2005). This is discussed further during section seven point five of the review.

Policy discourse analysis has also been used in order to explore the relationship between professional burnout, stress, and levels of commitment within the context of the public sectors: exploring these elements in relation to levels of professional attrition and policy innovation. (Burt & Worsley, 2008; Day, et al., 2005; Nias, 1981, 1989; Stronach, et al., 2002). In view of the context and background to this study, discussed in sections one and two of the review, this element is axiomatic to the investigation of professional identities and the ways in which strong professional identities promote occupational resilience.

Examining the ways in which policy is conveyed provides the identity researcher with a number of challenges and questions, in terms of policy makers, professionals, and

those whose responsibility it is to relay policy within the context of any of the arenas outlined above. Closer analysis of the situations outlined in the numbered list above, raises key questions; questions emanating from literature to date which has explored these contexts in relation to policy and professional identity .(S Ball, 1994; Kinman, 2001; Menter, 2010; Oliver, 2006; Wiles, 2010)

1. What are the intended outcomes of this method of policy cascading for the institution?
2. What method of policy dissemination provides the professional with the most discursive repertoires for inculcating new understandings into their professional persona and practices?
3. How far do the differing methods go in terms of creating resistance discourses: new discourses of professionalism based upon inculcation of personally and professionally relevant aspects of policy, whilst simultaneously rejecting others? To what extent should these discourses be seen as ultimately recusant, and to what extent creative of a new type of professional?(Baxter, 2010; R. Harrison, et al., 2003; Søreide, 2007)

These questions are important from the point of view of policy makers, public sector professionals and sector users, and point up the need to consider these elements within the context of future research in this area. In terms of points two and three; extant literature has pointed up the need for further research in this area.(Alvesson & Willmott, 2004; Baldwin, 2008; S. Banks, 2005; Carreiras, 1999; Cross, et al., 2010; Davies & Thomas, 2003, 2004; Menter, 2010; Thomas, 2007)

7.4. Policy Discourses: relative values, skills and competencies.

Analysis of policy discourse offers valuable insight into ways in which policy makers perceive the professionals involved in articulating their policies; not only the ways in which they perceive professionalism, but the ways in which they conceptualise professionalism within the context of today's society. They provide insights into the discourses of public opinion with regard to that particular branch of public sector, constituting an expository that is both pro- active (seeking to change public perception and reactive, (in response to public perception of the sector). Policy documents arising due to perceptible failures in sectors, often instantiate elliptical discourses that appear rooted in neither professional values, nor current practices within the public sectors. Equally, they provide indications of relative values ascribed to skills and competencies both within and across professions, but which contradict values and ethical understandings of what it means to be a public sector professional within a given context.(S. Ball, 1998; Gerwitz & ball, 1996; Søreide, 2007).This facet may be particularly apparent in the case of policy that applies to multi-agency contexts where collides, head on with differing notions of professionalism.(M. Atkinson, Wilkin, A., Stott, A., Doherty, P. and Kinder, K., 2002; Baldwin, 2008; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009; Søreide, 2007).Policy documents also offer key insights into what Sørde terms, ' narrative control', viewing the narrative content of policy documents a form of identity control: imposing an identity upon, in this case, the teaching professional. Sørde's study into policy discourses of Norwegian teachers used poststructuralist and discourse theory, combined with theories of narrative identity, in order to analyse national curriculum documents regulating teacher education. (Caravallo Johnson & Watson, 2004)This method has also been used within an number of differing contexts to analyse identities of nurses (Apesoa-Varano, 2007; Baldwin, 2008; Öhlén & Segesten, 1998), social workers (Aronson, 2011; Doel, et al., 2009; Leece & Leece, 2011; Lymbery, 2001; Reynolds, 2007), teachers(Menter, 2010) and higher education teaching professionals (Baxter, 2010a; Hanson, 2009).

The analysis of policy documents, whilst important, cannot be viewed in isolation: as discussed earlier in the review, they are not solely responsible for the formation of professional identities, but rather offer an inroad into analysis of hegemonies that colour individuals' professional identities. They also form a part of the rather broader idea of 'public narratives' (Sørde: 132): narratives that are formed around and about the public sector professional by the media, the public, government organisations and perhaps most importantly, the sector user. In addition, they form a bridge between the institution and the individual; assuming that the institution or agency implements practice via public policy, some narratives enter the professional arena via the agency or institution of employment, whilst others, such as those within the Sørde study, may be articulated via the organisation within which the individual is studying. This may provoke contradictions in terms of the ways in which policies are interpreted and implemented, as policies become coloured by institutional imperatives which may, to a certain extent, distort and colour the original narratives as illustrated within the diagram below. The diagram also outlines the ways in which dissemination of policy discourses may concomitantly affect outcomes on identities. Mediation is, as was mentioned above, an important consideration within subsequent extent to which policies are inculcated, reified, and resisted within the context of the professional identity.

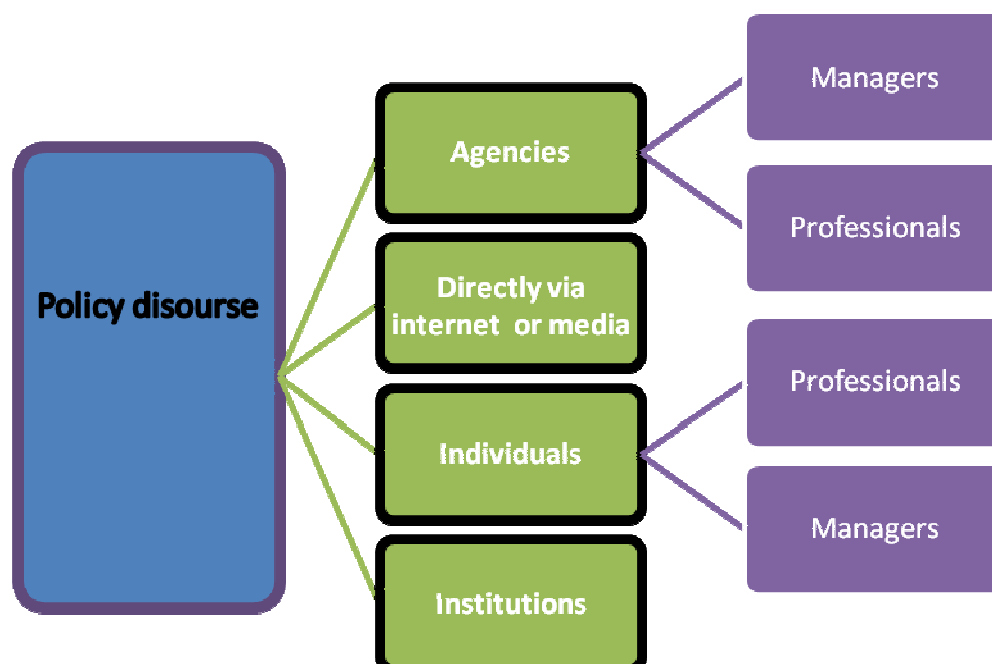


Figure 3 Indicative routes for Dissemination of Policy discourses

The value laden element of policy discourse is attributed within a number of studies, to cause issues in policy adoption. Baldwin's extensive study of the discourse of professional identity within child and adolescent mental health sectors, (Baldwin, 2008) analysed policy discourses as they appeared within the context of communication with participants within his study. The analysis revealed that certain documents appeared to be central to the formation of professional identity discourses, whilst others, with apparently equal status, appeared to be less influential in terms of their ability to permeate discourse. (ibid: 161). Within the study, he notes that whilst practitioners were not always aware of named documents which had permeated their discourse, they articulated the areas within the policy document which they perceived to be most influential upon their professional practices. (ibid: 163): the discourses had permeated their professional identities and effectively coloured their hegemonies, reifying their beliefs of what they believed a professional within their field to be.

This process of integration of policy discourses with the individual's ideal of what it means to be an effective professional, is an interesting one and merits closer examination. If the integration of the policy discourse is, as Baldwin's study suggests, selective, then it would seem likely that the individual concomitantly rejects elements of the policy discourse that are not congruent with either their current praxis, or with their ethical beliefs about what it means to be a professional working in their field. This element of rejection, has been perceived by some researchers to be, ducking under the radar: avoiding the enjoining processes of both management and policy, both in terms of the study of narrative articulations of identity, and also within the field of resistance narratives; thought by some researchers, to be equally as important in the formation of professional identities and a way to find salience in professional situations in which the identities are under threat. This element of adaptation of professional narratives which Holstein and Gubrium term, 'narrative editing', (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995:122), looks to literature and story to arrive at an understanding of how the individual manipulates differing discourses to provide a

plot: a way in which to accept certain elements of the discourse, whilst simultaneously rejecting others. However this has recursive connotations which seem to indicate that the individual adopts the same strategies to create a plot within differing situations; they find a formula that works and apply it to the working context. If this were so then the challenges that are currently being faced within the multi faceted context of multi-agency working, would appear to be less potent than the literature suggests.

An important element within the field of professional identity research is the contribution of a growing body of literature analysing the ways in which ‘identity regulation’ as Alvesson and Willmott term it, is used as a means of organisational control. This work is largely centred on the ways in which professionals are enjoined to adopt identities which are, ‘largely congruent with managerially defined objectives’. (Alvesson & Willmott, 2004:1; Davies & Thomas, 2003; Day, et al., 2005; Dickens, 2011; Gewirtz, et al., 2006; Hotho, 2008), and concentrates chiefly on resistance discourse (discussed in sections six and seven).

The diagram below points to the ways in which the extant literature indicates the permeability of policy discourses in terms of the ways in which they are articulated via professional identities, and used in order to provide the individual with the most effective, salient and robust ways of working within multi-agency contexts. Contexts within which, plurivocal meanings are drawn and assimilated by professionals from different public sector backgrounds, and used in combination with meanings and beliefs drawn from personal areas of professional practice, in order to provide the individual with a way of working which fits with established beliefs formed by both professional learning and professional practices to date.

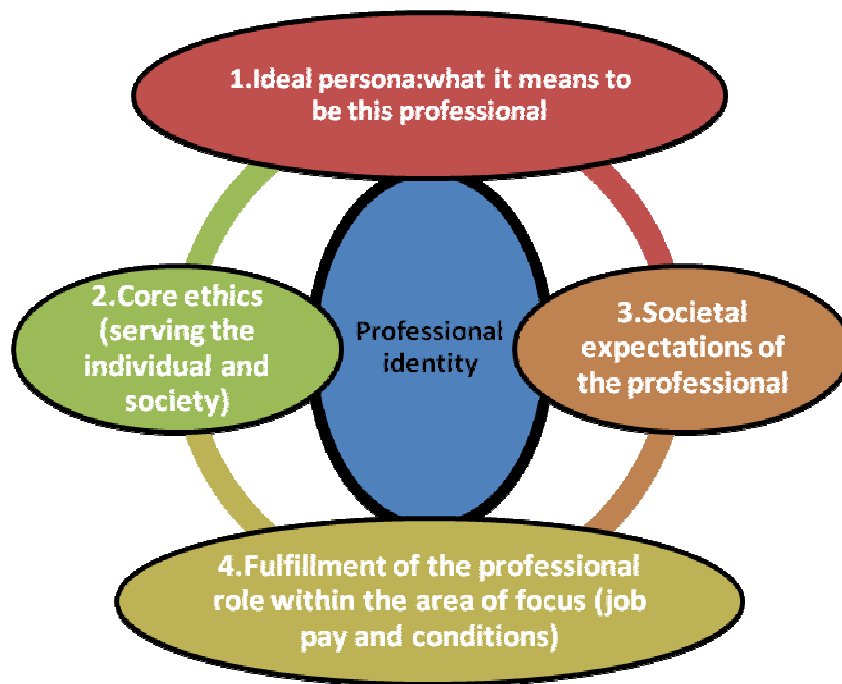


Figure 4 Components of the Professional Identity within the context of policy analysis

In terms of policy discourse analysis, it would therefore seem important to consider the ways in which the discourse permeates the elements of the professional identities outlined in the extant literature. Following on from this, the differing extents to which the ways of imparting policy discourse above may be deemed effective in terms of their ability to impact upon and be inculcated within the four elements highlighted in figure 4.

7.5. The role of resistance discourse and the emergent field of occupational identity management

'Resistance is understood as a constant process of adaptation, subversion and reinscription of dominant discourses. This takes place as individuals confront and reflect on their own identity performance, recognising contradictions and tensions and, in so doing, pervert and subtly shift meanings and understandings.' (Thomas & Davies, 2005 :687).

The role of resistance discourse has already emerged during this review, within the context of , 'the third space.' (Macfarlane, 2011; Whitchurch, 2008): meaning a new type of professional identity. A professional identity, not located within the binary of recursive or compliant individual but a new professionalism borne chiefly out of the ways in which individuals are agentive in their ability to manipulate policy discourses which they find to be incongruent with their own professional ideals and operational field of practice. The idea of resistance discourse and the ways in which it conditions identities, occurs frequently within literature which describes the ways in which, individuals:

'may act in autonomous and creative fashion despite overarching social constraints.'(lloyd, 2005 :91).

It is one of the central tenets to Foucault's work, and features particularly prevalently within The History of Sexuality, in discussions on ways in which homosexuals create discourses to counter dominant heterosexual hegemonies.(M. Foucault & Hurley, 1990) It emerged as Second Wave Feminist Discourse gave way to Third Wave Feminist theory, which conceptualised women as being more agentive in the ways in which they negotiate an navigate discourses. (lloyd, 2005). It also features in accounts of identities which are constructed under extreme conditions such as those

mentioned earlier in the report: Dimsdale's account of survival within the nazi concentration camps, or Snow's account of creating a salient identity whilst living on the streets. (Dimsdale, 1980; Snow & Anderson, 1987).

As discussed within section 6 , professional identity is politically and discursively constructed and ,

'where there is a space between the position of subject offered by a discourse and individual interest, a resistance to that subject position is produced.'(Stevens, 2011 :113).

As Thomas and Davies note, resistance discourses appear a good deal within the field of organisational analyses. Generally in such a way that has negative connotations for managers, and described as:

'clandestine and low level misbehaviour.' (Thomas & Davies, 2005 :686).

Appearing as a negative element, problematic behaviour that requires a solution, and that is, within its very essence, the antithesis of the type of compliance expected from the organisation. Thomas and Davies look at ways in which the motivation to form resistance discourses, both emanate from and uses, alternative subject positions in order to create the discourse. Within the study, based within the UK Police Force ,the researchers offer the example of Kate, who uses her position as a woman to offer resistance discourse on behalf of herself and her male colleagues, that challenges the inherent assumptions within the NPM, (New Public Management), structure, that discursively articulate an employee ideal persona as being one who abides by a culture of presenteeism, long hours and unerring devotion to the police force. In resisting this discourse, she draws upon both government policy discourses, which place child caring responsibilities as a central tenet within the policies. They note that in creating the resistance discourse,

'challenging one subject position involves constructing alternatives and thus her resistance is not only oppositional but also generative.' (ibid:693).

The generative position taken by the worker in this case involves not only the resistance of certain discourses but also the appropriation of others, in order to generate the new subject position; in identity learning terms, it fulfils the role of cognitive dissonance, creating a space within which the new professional identity, an identity that can comfortably be used to negotiate the complexities of the workplace; one which, whilst historically and biographically influenced, is reified by the individual's capacity for human agency. In the same way that a student appropriates certain understandings of what it means to be a student, in order to establish at least a starting student identity, within Higher Education; then gradually evolving this identity as they progress. (Lamming., 2003).

This idea of exploring a new identity from a safe base, has been noted by a number of researchers, (Lave & Wenger, 1991; E. Wenger, 1998). Lave and Wenger see the attainment of a new identity as being a careful decision, based upon how worthwhile it is for the individual to acquire: how much effort, time and learning it will take to be able to adopt a new persona. (Wenger 1998). Heron, in his Six Category Intervention analysis, views the ability to confront old assumptions as the point at which the individual will either move forward and adopt a new identity, or retreat to safe, if an unsatisfactory state; resisting change. (Heron, 1999). However these theories assume little opportunity to explore productive resistance discourse, tending instead to assume either a position in which the individual moves forward, or retreats rather than creatively tackling the identity conundrum presented to them. This view of identity also assumes that having confronted the difficulty that the individual must move forward past this point. This is contested by a number of feminist researchers as being reductionist, on the grounds that it assumes that the individual moves forward along a single continuum, rather than being in possession of a number of identities that interrelate and influence each other. (lloyd, 2005). It is at this point that

professional development interventions have been highlighted as having most impact; this is discussed further in section eight of the review. The relationship between learning and identity posited by Heron, also pays scant regard to the power discourses operating at both micro and macro levels and which, may be influential in preventing the individual from productively moving forward: awareness of the need to change does not necessarily proceed in a linear way towards the desired for change, but may be coloured and shaped by levels of autonomy within the particular organisation or agency.

Alvesson and Willmott's paper on Identity Regulation as Organisational control, examines the ways in which organisations enjoin individuals to adopt self – images and work orientations that,

'are deemed congruent with managerially defined objectives.' (Alvesson & Willmott, 2004 :1).

But argues that these processes of enjoinder, are in themselves, not objective, nor neutral, but complicated by the interpretations of both management and staff.

'they interact, and indeed are fused , with what we term the 'identity work ' or organizational members. Identity work, we contend , is a significant medium and outcome of organisational control.' (ibid: 4).

They state that in recent years,

'Discourses of quality management, service management, innovation and knowledge work have, in recent years, promoted an interest in passion, soul and charisma. These discourses can also be read as expression of an increased managerial

interest in regulating employees 'insides'- their self –image, their feelings and identifications.' (ibid:5).

This is latterly reflected greatly within the Government's Open Public Services White Paper (Niemi, 1997), published in July 2011, which highlights the caring elements of public service , using phrases such as, the passion of public sector workers, while also enjoining the professional to adopt a ' responsive attitude to the people that they serve.' (ibid: 7). The emphasis throughout the paper is on 'demand led services', 'entitlements', and choice'. It states that for public service staff,

'Our plans will tear up the rule book that stops public sector staff doing the job as they see fit. We will restore professional responsibility and discretion; offer public service staff new opportunities to innovate, improve and inspire; and encourage public sector staff to start their own enterprise.' (ibid:11).

In terms of a professional identity, there are a number of mixed messages inherent within the Paper. On the one hand, the government is apparently offering Public Sector Professionals increased autonomy, yet on the other, enjoining them to adopt a target driven mentality. What is not apparent is what will happen if the professional opinion does not concur with the targets set. Within such a market driven environment, in which,

'public services should be open to a range of providers'. (ibid: 9).

Recent work by the Third Sector Research Centre Below The Radar Reference Group articulate this dichotomy in their paper on reflections on community engagement , empowerment and social action in a changing policy context. Stating:

'Although the Coalition Government's vision of the Big Society is not entirely clear Rowson et al , Oppenheim et al ,(Oppenheim, et al., 2010; Rowson, et al., 2010) argue that the concept of 'Big Society' taps into ' a powerful tradition of mutualism,

co-operatives and the social economy a tradition which straddles different ideological standpoints. Certainly elements of The Big Society have a long history within right wing political thinking, harking back to a Pre-Welfare State golden age of mutualism , and the ‘search ‘ for viable private, non-political alternative to the welfare state.’ (McCabe, 2010).

The mixed messages, in terms of professional identity are many: be agentic and independent , but abide by managerially imposed targets that may well sit in opposition to your professional beliefs, collaborate and rely on volunteers across the board, although evidence suggests that many areas due to social and economic factors, there are simply not enough volunteers to fulfil The Big Society Vision, link the personal with the professional , bring your feelings and your personal /professional ethics to work , but ensure they are in line with institutional, managerial and economically derived outcomes.

Finding a way through these discourses is a challenge indeed for professionals: understanding how political imperatives are playing out at grassroots level , an area which merits further research in order that policies are not created in a solipsistic vacuum.

Conclusion

‘How should policy makers act in the terrain of identity? One position would be to say that the state should remain neutral when it comes to identity formation and let people choose their identities for themselves’. Although this is an attractive argument, it is difficult to sustain under scrutiny. All states, even liberal ones are inevitably involved in shaping our identities in various ways and can never be wholly neutral.’(Muir & Weatherall, 2010 :1)

The preceding discussion has highlighted the importance of policy discourse in formation of the professions , whilst also raising questions around how far the policy, in its purest form, can be said to influence professional identities. It has highlighted the dichotomy between the desired and actual outcomes of policies and pointed up the need for public sector professional identity research to explore this elliptical and nebulous relationship.

8. Multi-agency working.

'Differences emerged in the way in which professionals judged what was considered to be established and what was not, such as where individual agencies still felt there were issues for them that needed to be addressed. These may provide some useful pointers to the progression of multi- agency work.' (M. Atkinson, Doherty, & Kinder, 2005: ii)

The emphasis on multi-agency working produced through reports and policies such as The Laming Report (Trowler, 2002), the green paper :Every Child Matters (Powell, 1990) and the later Children's Act 2004 (S Ball, 1994). Whilst providing a more integrated sector, have created challenges for public sector professionals working within the agencies concerned. The Green Paper, Every Child Matters, set out the ways in which it expected professionals to rise to the challenges of integrated interagency collaboration, in terms of the following:

1. Develop single management structures, which will preserve the specialist expertise.
2. Extend professionalism- not do more but know more about what others do and open up access to others.
3. Initiate multidisciplinary/ sector working, underpinned by core learning and skills objectives across all statutory and voluntary agencies.
4. Support the role of learning mentors and other forms of learning support.

(Reid, 2005:16)

The four areas stated above have wide ranging implications around both the ways in which public sector professionals carry out their role, whilst also having profound implications for the ways in which initial training and subsequent in sector development and professional learning, is carried out. (Anning, 2006; M. Atkinson,

Wilkin, A., Stott, A., Doherty, P. and Kinder, K., 2002; Gaskell & Leadbetter, 2009; Townsley, Watson, & Abbott, 2004b). This is discussed further in section nine.

As outlined within sections one, two and three of this report; consideration of the public sector professional within this context, also necessitates consideration of the wider political climate within which they are operating: multi-agency working in an increasingly marketised, neo liberal environment. (S. Ball, 1998; S. J. Ball, 1993; Cross, et al., 2010; S. Harrison & Pollitt, 1994; Reid, 2005), within which, as discussed in section four, the professional is expected to perform in terms of both professionalism and professionalism.(Gleeson & Knights, 2006; S. Harrison & Pollitt, 1994), (defined fully in section five).

Professionals working within single management structures, will often be line managed by people from outside their professional arena; raising challenges not only in terms mutual understandings of what it means to do a good job within that professional context, but also in terms of the individuals' capacity to maintain their professional identity in the face of competing demands, competing notions of professionalism and discourses which privilege the status of one professional, over another.(Hamill, 2001; Kennedy, 2001; Robinson & Cottrell, 2005). Research into ways in which professional learning and development can contribute to the evolution and maintenance of a salient professional identity in these circumstances, is discussed more fully under section eight of the report.

Research into multi-agency working since the inception of the Childrens' Act, has revealed that this is a source of considerable professional satisfaction, whilst also giving rise to considerable discomfort. Statements such as the one below, demonstrate that while gaining knowledge of the roles and professional areas of others is informative and enriching, this can also lead to a re conceptualisation of where one role begins and another ends. It also produces challenges in terms of the ways in which professional understandings around confidentiality and competing priorities within the context of different professional specialisations.

'People have been chosen to work with the project because of their personal qualities. So that's been that they are very respectful, that they work in partnership with people rather than working on people.....most of the people involved have had that kind of enabling role and where people have come in and tried to be very ridged in their own profession, and been bound by that, they haven't been very effective. If they've had the flexibility to work in a holistic partnership way, they've been very good. (early years coordinator, Education).(M. Atkinson, et al., 2005:79)

In the best case scenario, these conflicts and differences have been observed to give rise to productive discussions and re negotiation of meanings, to create a new form of interagency professional. But this largely depends upon the climate under which these discussions and disagreements take place. (Hamill, 2001; King & Ross, 2004). As evidenced by the literature, interdisciplinary conflicts can cause a good deal of cognitive dissonance within individuals, leading them to question both their sense of purpose and efficacy which concomitantly leads to high levels of stress, absence and if not well managed, eventually attrition within the profession. (Daniels, et al., 2007; Kennedy, 2001; King & Ross, 2004).

Research carried out in 2002 by the NFER (National Foundation for Educational Research) into the impact of multi-agency working on professionals , revealed a number of insights whilst also recommending areas for further research. (M. Atkinson, Wilkin, A., Stott, A., Doherty, P. and Kinder, K., 2002). These insights have been supported , and to some extent, developed further in qualitative studies into interagency working within particular fields. (Baldwin, 2008; Kennedy, 2001; Lymbery, 2001; McInnes, 2007; Robinson & Cottrell, 2005). This is complimented by research such as that done by Doel and Sawdon,(Doel, et al., 2009; Doel & Sawdon, 2001), on professional boundaries and intergroup working. However, the extent to which interagency collaboration is still proving difficult for public sector professionals is evidenced by the recent plethora of research into ways in which professionals relate agency, professionals from differing groups, and the sector user. (Anning, 2006; Daniels, et al., 2007; McInnes, 2007; Townsley, et al., 2004b). However, whilst there is a rich literature pertaining to social work and nursing, there is less research

from the perspective of secondary, HE and FE professionals and the ways in which they interact with other agencies. Research into HE professionals and the competing and complimentary ways in which their professional identities interrelated with nascent teaching identities is the subject of current research.(Butcher, Stoncel, & 2011), and forms an important field for exploration particularly in light of the earlier discussion on the role of community and its impact on professional identity.(section five).

9. The role of professional learning in the formation and maintenance of robust professional identities

The links between learning and identity have been established by learning theorists, psychologists and others working in the field of professional identity research. (Bandura, 1977; Heron, 1999; Ileris, 2009; E. Wenger, 1998) The ways in which learning and professional identity are linked vary according to whether professional identity is viewed as part of the core identity of an individual, or whether it is perceived to be something separate. But as Muir and Weatherell observe :

'In social science research, a distinction is sometimes made between the study of personal and social identities. In truth, this is a rather arbitrary distinction: identity is always both about ourselves and about how we are positioned in relation to the world.' (Muir & Weatherall, 2010 :4).

The parsing of professional identity from social identity has, as was discussed in section six, largely been negated by a number of professional identity researchers working within the public sector, who have concluded that core and stable elements of individual's identities meld with new understandings of what it means to be a professional in the contexts within which the individuals are working. (Baldwin, 2008; Jeffrey, 2008; Lewis, 2010; M. MacLure, 1993; Sieminski, 2010; P. Sikes, et al., 1985; Wiles, 2010).

The ways in which the identity of the adult learner is formed and shaped by learning are well articulated by Mezirow, who defines the attributes and modalities of an adult learner as being someone who can:

1. Seek the meaning of their experience

2. *Have a sense of self and others as agents of thoughtful and responsible action*
3. *Engage in mindful efforts to learn*
4. *Learn to become rational by advancing and assessing reasons*
5. *Make meaning of their experience- through acquired frames of reference- sets of orientating assumptions and expectations, with cognitive affective and conative dimensions that shape, delimit and sometimes distort their understanding.*
6. *Rely upon beliefs and understandings that produce interpretations and opinion that will prove more true or justified than those based upon other beliefs and understandings*
7. *Engage in reflective discourse to assess the reasons and assumptions supporting a belief to be able to arrive a tentative best judgement , as a sometime alternative or supplement to resorting to traditional authority to force to validate a judgement*
8. *Understand the meaning of what is communicated to them by taking into account the assumptions (intent, truthfulness, qualifications), of the person communicating, as well as the truth , justification , appropriateness and authenticity of what is being communicated.*
9. *Imagine how things could be different*
10. *Learn to transform their frames of reference through critical reflection on assumptions , self – reflection on assumptions and dialogic reasoning when the belief and understandings they generate become problematic. (Mezirow 1990:45).*

There is an assumption on the part of Mezirow that these attributes are inherent within the adult learner, but research in the field of further, adult ,Higher and professional education, problematise this notion, suggesting instead, that many of these traits need to be engendered by the curriculum.(Heron, 1999; Schön, 1987). The inculcation of CPD requirements into many of the public service professions indicate not only the need to remain ahead of the game in terms of current developments, but also a need to be able to refresh the attributes above, to ensure that the professional is able to remember how to learn to transform and adapt the identity in the same way in which they did in their initial development; this is particularly so within the context of points, five, seven, nine and ten. (Cosh, 1998; Gosling, 2005), which indicate the need for on-going professional dialogue that enables them to embrace change in a critical and reflective manner. This is perceived to be important in the negotiation of managerial discourses which, to the professional, may appear to be relativistic and reductionist: articulating the vision of a solipsistic, professional who responds to targets, market forces and change in either

a recusant or mechanistic fashion. Instead placing effective identity work, firmly in the arena of the self-actualising adult learner : agentive, capable of reifying and transforming discourses and of questioning the status quo.

A body of research has demonstrated that in order to be able to adopt this protean view of identity creation, in order to combat a retreat into a defensive position, in which attempts by institutions, other professionals, governments and service users, erode self salience, creating ductile identities in which individuals lose sight of what their professionalism means to both them and the profession, many professional organisations advocate the need for a constant system of continuing professional support in place. (HEA, 2006; RCN, 2011). This discourse does however, make certain assumptions about the ways in which professionals think about their identities and everyday practices, suggesting that without this support, individuals may be professionally lost. It is contested by some international studies which analyse professional practices in countries in which there is very little support within the professional arena. Within these studies, professionals create their own roles according to both their ideologies and the cultural arenas within which they are working. (Alexander, 2001). Support which emphasises both the updating skills and knowledge, whilst acknowledging the need for the individual to respond on a metacognitive level; questioning what these new innovations mean to them and their practices and employing self- reflection to meld old ways of being, with new. (CSCC, 2011; HEA, 2006; RCN, 2011). So that the change can be progressively, but not unquestioningly incorporated into the new persona in a way which adds strength and resilience to existing professionalism rather than creating an incrementally and progressively etiolated version of the professional self.

As has already been discussed in the review so far, a key criticism of an increasingly managerialist agenda has been the attempts to parse elements of professional identity into a reductionist view of simple competencies, and the concomitant negation of less easily definable , yet core elements to professional roles. As Stronach and Corban articulate,

‘Teaching and nursing....possess a growing tendency to give national, or even international expression to definitive lists of competencies’. (Stronach, et al., 2002 :40).

This is also mirrored in social work, youth work and the police.(S. Bradford, 2008; Davies & Thomas, 2003; P. Sikes, et al., 1985). The perceptual and actual separation of core elements to a profession and professional competencies is called into question by learning theorists who advocate professional learning as necessarily being of a transformative nature. (Heron, 1998, 1999; Mezirow, 1991). A deep process which whilst it may be aimed at development of the professional identity engenders what Johnson terms,

‘ interaction between individual subjectivities and societal conditions.’ (Johnson, 1982: 116),

And,

‘a nexus between the Bourdieu’s idea of Habitus : the way we express ourselves through discourse and action, and the ways in which we are enjoined to act via our external environments. (I. Ferguson & Woodward, 2009).

Within the perception of a professional identity as something which is learned, research into learning and identity indicates several stages and activities which an individual will undertake in order to attain an occupational professional identity. These stages are outlined in figure four below. Although the stages are illustrated as being separate, there are overlaps between phases, and the diagram should be taken as a summary guide only. In terms of professional reflection, understood to be a core element of professional learning, the diagram assumes this to be a cyclical process, to be encouraged at each stage.(Schön, 1987)

As discussed earlier, Alheit, (Alheit 1999), describes three views of curricula, practical, cognitive and situational. These views of curricula are useful if viewed in relation to figure five, which illustrates the types of professional learning that go towards forming the professional identity, this brings together, other elements of professional learning that are thought to have considerable impact on the ways in which the identities are formed, shaped and evolved. In terms of section one although the formal curriculum is viewed as the advertised curriculum, it is not a formed from a notionally objective position, but emanates from a particular professional discourse around not purely the skills and knowledge an individual should possess, but also what type of ethical, ideological and political stance the individual may be enjoined to adopt. O' Donoghue and Chapman,(Larson, 1977), in their social semiotic exploration of the discursive construction of teacher identity, through teaching guidance documents used by an order of teaching nuns in Australia, analyse the ways in which the register, or tone of the curriculum shapes teacher identity in terms of both vocational and practical elements. Using a mix of religious and instrumental vocabulary the documentation creates a relationship between the novice teacher, which attempts to both induct the teachers into the community of teaching / nun practitioners, whilst also possessing an interpellating function which enjoins the individual to adopt a particular philosophy, in this case a Christian one. The study reveals that the documentation also attempts to inculcate a sense of community and concomitant identity resilience, by identifying the teacher/ nun , in relation to 'the other'. In this case the parents.

'The ignorance of parents is often a heavy cross; it is hard to please them, impossible to satisfy them. Let the Sisters bear this cross cheerfully and keep in mind that it belongs to their profession. Let them not lose patience and let them never cause the children to suffer for the faults of their parents.' (ibid: 39).

This example from history, viewed from a 21st century perspective, can be seen within formal curricula, within the artifacts of formal curricula and within the textual representations of professions which emanate from both professional bodies, registration requirements, and ethical codes. (S. Banks, 2010; Nicol & Harrison,

2003; Wiles, 2010). The extent to which and the ways in which professional curricula attempt to interpellate, or encourage a particular ideological stance, is noted within a number of cross cultural research projects, to differ depending upon the types of community and wider society, within which the practices are based. (Alexander, 2001; Weiss Gal & Welbourne, 2008). Hargreave's study on , ' The Four Ages of Professionalism and Professional Learning'(Hargreaves, 2000), indicates that the sense of the profession can be most effectively inculcated and strengthened when development is,

'embedded within the life and work of the school, when it actively secures the principal's or head-teacher's support and involvement, and, when it is the focus of collaborative discussion and action.' (ibid: 165).

Although professional development carried out within the place of work, is thought by many, to be fruitful, this is not unproblematic, particularly if the development is viewed through the lens and discourses of performance management, targets and a view of the purpose of the teacher, as one that seems to some extent, to be removed from core ideologies. In the statement above, Hargreaves takes the view that collaborative discursive element of this type of development, has the capability to negotiate and reify dominant in school performance driven hegemonies. But this view does, to a certain extent, negate the impact of political forces that operate at a micro and macro level throughout the organisation. (Baxter, 2010). The role of resistance discourses in the negotiation of CPD

initiatives is an area which has remained relatively unexplored to date. Particularly in terms of the relative impact on the professional identity, dependent upon where and in what context, the development takes place. Kuisma and Sandberg's study of 57 preschool teachers and student pre-school teachers' thought about professionalism in Sweden, indicated a rather accepting view of CPD that centred around recent policy documentation and official guidance, suggesting that collective reflection was centred around trying to understand documentation and initiatives rather than taking

this one step further and negotiating ways in which these could be built into existing practices,

'the team can revise their skills together through improving theories, laws, policy documents, and reflections. I will never become fully trained, as knowledge changes with time.(Kuisma & Sandberg, 2008:22).

The emphasis on the informal curriculum, section two in figure six, highlights the link between learning and previous identities; negotiation of new experiences in relation to old understandings. In terms of Lave and Wenger's community of practice theories, this would tend to suggest a smooth transition from one identity to another. A move from, legitimate peripheral participation, (Lave and Wenger 1991), or student status; to a point at which the individual becomes a full member of the community: a professional. In the third and final section of the diagram, the hidden curriculum alludes to both the socio political context within which the curriculum is offered: in terms of professional identity, the ways in which policies, practices and institutional hegemonies influence the way in which the curriculum is both delivered and interpreted.

Professional reflection and tools for professional reflection have been and continue to be, the subject of a good deal of research, not only within the context of Higher Education, but also within the context of the wider public sector, business and the professions.(Leach, 2008; M. MacLure, 1993)



Figure 5 The Five Stages of Learning Professional Identities

The five stages of professional identity learning outlined in figure 5, are underpinned by the three forms of learning(figure 6), in which the exploratory nature of learning is highlighted. The articulation of the three forms of curricula hone with constructivist theories of learning which are particularly pertinent in terms of professional learning. Constructivism assumes that :

- *Individual change is not separable from social change;*
- *individual understanding is always distributed in its nature;*
- *language only has meaning in the context of activity when words are being used in a particular way;*
- *people are agents in solving problems;*
- *perception and action arise together and co-construct each other; and*
- *People act with the environment(IPPR, 2011 :146).*

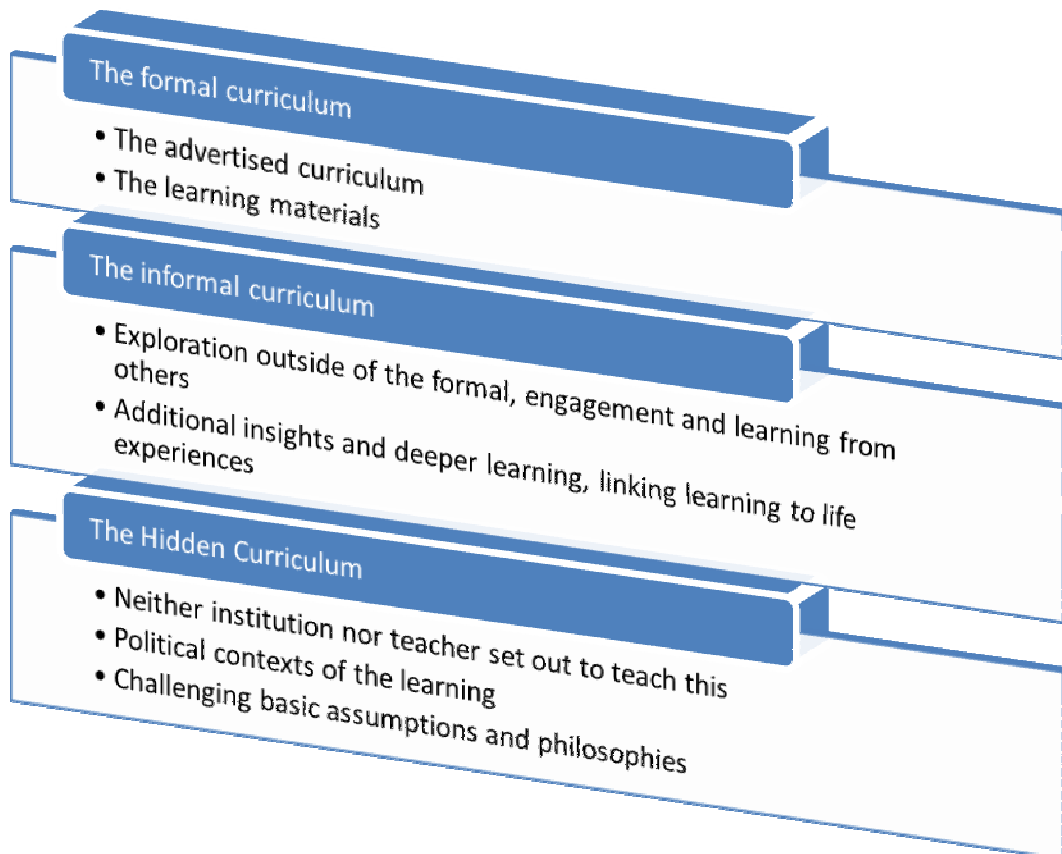


Figure 6 The Curricula of Professional Identity Formation

The three types of curricula; adapted from Armitage et al(Armitage, 1999)

Cable and Goodliff's work on the ways in which foundation degrees aim to develop a professional identity in Early Years Teachers makes the point that students are recruited to these degrees, 'who might not otherwise enter HE'(Ramesh, 2011: 174); this presents a double challenge in terms of nascent professional identity; the challenge of acquiring the professional identity of an early years practitioner, whilst

also developing an HE student identity. Johnson and Watson's work on student identities in HE, points out that , ' if a student feels that they do not fit in, that their social and cultural practices are inappropriate and that their tacit knowledge is undervalued, they may be more inclined to withdraw early.' (Caravallo Johnson & Watson, 2004 :474), pointing up the dual nature of developing as a professional and an HE student.

Higher education teaching professionals face a dual challenge; both to instil a sense of occupational professional identity within the student, whilst also ensuring that their nascent student identity is given equal consideration. Work by Brennan et al, revealed that student's new identities were more to do with confidence and aspiration rather than knowledge and skills.(Brennan et al cited in Edmund et al 2010:2). Cable and Goodliff , describe, *'the challenges inherent within the work based learning environment as, 'developing the ability to balance the message the student receives, relating to policy and practiced through government documents, leaders in the workplace and established workplace cultures, with the demands of their study which is encouraging them to reflect , question and explore their own ideas, values behaviours and practices.'*(Cable & Goodliff, 2011:242), hearkening back to the model of the three types of curricula.(Figure 6).

Weiss Gal et al's cross national exploration of Social work revealed that entry into Social work engendered both University and non-university entry routes into the profession. (Weiss Gal & Welbourne, 2008). Their report notes that while social work degrees and masters degrees are offered via higher education, there are also,' individual schools of social work, with a wider degree of autonomy in setting social work curricula.' (ibid: 286). They conclude that a much greater professional status is accorded within countries within which qualifications are offered at graduate level, placing this over countries in which social work qualifications are offered via quasi autonomous bodies. This raises interesting questions for public service professions on an international level: is it preferable to have a relatively high level of government intervention and standardisation within the curriculum, or for the profession itself to design curricula that it feels, adequately considers prime elements of need within

that particular society, even though the status of the profession may be contingently lower?

To some extent, this reflects the debates that have taken place within the context of Post War Youth Work. Oliver's work into changing identities in youth work highlights the ways in which changing occupational views of Youth Work have presented challenges to both learning and identity of the Youth Worker since 1997.(C. Bradford, 2008). The challenges to Youth Worker professional learning and identities have been multifarious, particularly since 1997 when policy shifts concerning the nature and range of Youth Work have engendered debate. Oliver argues that the profession,'would be better equipped to explore the challenges to our sense of identity if we were to take an approach informed by youth work values and principles.' (ibid: 5). The perceived conflict between roles and principles raises interesting questions in terms of learning a professional identity, evoking a struggle for power and precedence, between curricula, policies, practices and principles that may or may not have been engendered by professional associations, or simply by a first principles idea of what it means to be a successful Youth Worker. This argument is also reflected within the professional development of HE lecturers, many of whom have not undertaken any formal preparation for teaching, and whose professional identities have been formed within a professional context (e.g. lawyer, social worker, psychologist), rather than within a teaching environment. Butcher and Stoncel's work on the impact of Post Graduate Certificates in Education on the professional academic identities of HE Lecturers, revealed key insights into the ways in which this type of professional learning impacts upon practices.(Butcher, et al., 2011); again reflecting the ways in which the formal curriculum is interpreted at a departmental and institutional level and citing Trowler and Bamber in questioning,' the assumption that, by training HE teachers to teach,

'they will do a better job than untrained onesand noting that departmental cultures are powerful, operate against innovation and that educational development is insufficiently sensitive to disciplinary differences.' (Trowler and Bamber 2005 in Butcher, et al., 2011: 22)

Conclusion

As the discussion above has evidenced, learning is a key element within the formation of new identities and central to the ways in which they develop and are sustained. Initial professional development and the ways in which CPD is received and inculcated into professional personas and working practices, constitutes an axiomatic element within professional identity research within the public sector.

10. Conclusions and recommendations.

Whilst investigation of professional identities across the public sector , may at first, appear to be wide in scope, the communalities of issues and the way in which the public sector as a whole has developed and is continuing to develop, brings coherence to the field of public sector identity research. Not purely in terms of the policies , issues , political and economic factors that are shaping the services, but also in terms of the ways in which researchers are investigating the facets of public sector professional identities ; identifying communalities and pointing up emergent trends in professional identity development across the public sector.

Exploration under the key themes that emerge from the literature has identified both elements perceived to make up public sector professional identities, whilst also concomitantly offering a rationale for methodologies that have been found to be effective in research across the sector. The research has highlighted the importance of carrying out further targeted and focused research in this area, whilst also articulating risks to the public sector from both a policy implementation perspective and a professional effectiveness viewpoint, of allowing professional identities to become eroded by the multifarious pressures outlined in sections two and three.

The study has identified four key areas that have emerged as key to future research in this area:

1. The influence of resistance discourses and the ways in which this is employed by professionals to interpret policy and institutional discourses
2. The impact of para-professional identities and the ways in which they, in turn influence the identities of the professionals they are employed to support.
3. The ways in which private sector professional identities differ from those of public sector professionals , and the impact that this has on the profession and public perception of the profession.

4. The role of continuing professional development on the creation and sustenance of salient and robust professional identities.

Against the background of the protean climate of today's public sector ,the review has reflected both the interest and importance of researching the professionals that have the power to shape and form tomorrow's society; to give them voice through research, that will strengthen their communalities whilst also articulating and making manifest, areas of difficulty. It has highlighted the importance of the individual's ability to employ resistance discourse to create new and emergent identities :rather than occluding this discourse, viewing it, as many managerial and policy discourses have done, as something to be suppressed, ignored, silenced or controlled. Further research needs to look to opening out this area of public service identity formation: to investigate the creativity engendered, and the ways in which it is positively impacting on the professions. To illuminate previously occluded ways in which the professions have historically changed the societies in which they operate, to view them through the lens of the power they have: to positively shape and influence the core mission of the sector: By opening this area up to greater understandings, professional identity research may prove to be an important contribution to investigation into the ways that professionals shape the public services within which they work.

Jacqueline Baxter 2011.

References

- Adams, G., R., Bennion, L., & Huh, K. (1989). *Objective Measure of ego Identity status: A Reference Manual*. Utah: Utah State University.
- Ainley, P., & Allen, M. (2011, 290611). Is Full- blown privatisation of higher education a progressive policy?
- Alexander, R. (2001). *Culture and Pedagogy*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Alexander, R. (2010). *The Cambridge Primary Review*
- Allen, M., & Ainley, P. (2010). *Lost Generation ? New strategies for youth and education*. London: Continuum.
- Alsup, J. (2006). *Teacher Identity Discourses Negotiating personal and professional spaces*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Ltd.
- Alvesson, M., & Willmott, H. (2004). Identity regulation as organizational control: producing the appropriate individual. *Organizational identity: A reader*, 436-465.
- Anning, A. (2006). *Developing multi-professional teamwork for integrated children's services: research, policy and practice*: Open Univ Pr.
- Apesoa-Varano, E. (2007). Educated Caring: The Emergence of Professional Identity Among Nurses. [Article]. *Qualitative Sociology*, 30(3), 249-274.
- Armitage, A., Briant, R., Hammersley, M., Hayes, D. and Lawes, S. (1999). *Teaching and Training in Post compulsory Education*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Aronson, J. a. S., K. (2011). Identity Work and Critical Social Service Management: Balancing on a Tightrope ? *British Journal of Social Work*, 41, 432-448.
- Atkinson, M., Doherty, P., & Kinder, K. (2005). multi-agency working. *Journal of early childhood research*, 3(1), 7.

Atkinson, M., Wilkin, A., Stott, A., Doherty, P. and Kinder, K. (2002). *Multi-agency working: a detailed study*.

Avis, J. (1996). The enemy within: quality and managerialism in education. *Knowledge and Nationhood: education, politics and work*, 105-120.

Avis, J. (2005). Beyond performativity: reflections on activist professionalism and the labour process in further education. *Journal of Education Policy*, 20(2), 209-222.

Baldwin, L. (2008). *The Discourse of professional identity in Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services.*, University of Nottingham, Nottingham.

Ball, S. (1994). *Education Reform: A Critical and Post - Structural Approach*.
Buckingham Open University Press

Ball, S. (1997). Policy sociology and critical social research: A Personal review of recent education policy. *British Educational Research Journal*, 23(3), 257-260.

Ball, S. (1998). Performativity and fragmentation in 'postmodern schooling'. *Postmodernity and the fragmentation of welfare*, 187-203.

Ball, S. J. (1993). Education markets, choice and social class: the market as a class strategy in the UK and the USA. *British journal of sociology of education*, 14(1), 3-19.

Ball, S. J. (1999). Global Trends in Educational Reform and the Struggle for the Soul of the Teacher!

Bandura, A. (1977). *Social Learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs. NJ: Prentice Hall.

Banks, S. (2001). *Ethics and Values in Social Work* Hampshire Palgrave

Banks, S. (2005). *Ethics, accountability and the social professions*.

Banks, S. (2010). Integrity in professional life: Issues of conduct, commitment and capacity. *British Journal of Social Work*, 40(7), 2168.

Bathmaker, A. M., & Avis, J. (2005). Becoming a lecturer in further education in England: the construction of professional identity and the role of communities of practice. *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 31(1), 47-62.

Baxter, J. (2004). *Investigation into motivational factors behind using a second language as a means to gaining employment.*

Baxter, J. (2010). Exploring the Borderlands. *Open Learning*, 2(3), 225-227.

Baxter, J. (2010a). *Bien dans sa Peau : an investigation into the role of professional learning on the online teaching identities of HE Lecturers.* Paper presented at the 21 Century Academic Identities Conference, The University of Strathclyde.

Baxter, J. (2011). *An investigation into the role of professional learning on the online teaching identities of Higher Education Lecturers* The Open University UK, Milton Keynes

Baxter, J. (2011 (b)). *Who am I and what keeps me going ? profiling the distance learning student* Paper presented at the Positive Futures for higher education; connections, communities and criticality.

Beijaard, D., Meijer, P. C., & Verloop, N. (2004). Reconsidering research on teachers' professional identity. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 20, 107-128.

Beijaard, D., Meijer, P.C., and Verloop, N. (2004). Reconsidering research on teachers' professional identity. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 20, 107-128.

Bessant, J. (2004). Youth Work: The Loch Ness Monster and Professionalism. *Youth Studies Australia*, 23(4), 26-33.

Bourdieu, P. (1992). *Language and Symbolic Power* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bradford, C. (2008). 'Teaching' Values in Pre-qualifying Youth and Community Work Education *Youth and Policy*, 98(Winter), 57-72.

Bradford, S. (2008). Practices, policies and professionals: emerging discourses of expertise in English youth work, 1939-51. *Youth and Policy*, 97(1), 13-26.

Browne, J. (2010). *Securing a Sustainable Future for Higher Education. An Independent Review of Higher Education Funding and Student Finance.*

Bruner, J. S. (1996). *The culture of education*: Harvard Univ Pr.

- Burt, M., & Worsley, A. (Eds.). (2008). *'Social Work, professionalism and the regulatory framework'*. London: Sage.
- Butcher, J., Stoncel, D., & (2011). The impact of a Postgraduate Certificate in Teaching in Higher Education on university lecturers appointed for their professional expertise at a teaching-led university: 'It's made me braver'. *International Journal for Academic Development*, (forthcoming).
- Cable, C., & Goodliff, G. (Eds.). (2011). *Gendered Choices* (Vol. 15). London: Springer Science and Business Media.
- Caravallo Johnson, G., & Watson, G. (2004). Oh Gawd, How am I going to Fit into this?': Producing mature First - year Student Identity. *Language and Education* 18(6), 474-486.
- Carreiras, H. (1999). The Role of the Women in the Armed Forces of NATO Countries: Military Constraints and Professional Identities. *Minerva: Quarterly Report on Women and the Military*, 20, 46-58.
- Clandinin, D. J. (1986). *Classroom Practice, teacher images in action*. London: Falmer.
- Clark, C. (2006). Moral Character in Social Work. *British Journal of Social Work*, 36(1), 75-89.
- Coffield, F., & Williamson, B. (Eds.). (1997). *Repositioning Higher Education The Open University and the SRHE*
- Cohen, H. A. (1981). *The nurse's quest for a professional identity*. Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., Medical/Nursing Division.
- Cosh, J. (1998). Peer Observation in Higher Education - A reflective approach. *Innovations in Education and Training International*, 35, 171-176.
- Cremin, T., & Baker, S. (2010). Exploring teacher-writer identities in the classroom: conceptualising the struggle. *English Teaching: Practice and Critique*, 9(3), 8-25.

Cross, S., Hubbard, A., & Munro, E. (2010). *Reclaiming Social Work*: London Borough of Hackney Children and Young People's Services: unpacking the complexity of frontline practice- an ethnographic approach. London: The London School of Economics

CSCC. (2011). General Social Care Council. Retrieved 2011

Currie, G., & Suhomlinova, O. (2006). The impact of institutional forces upon knowledge sharing in the UK NHS: the triumph of professional power and the inconsistency of policy. *Public Administration*, 84(1), 1-30.

CWDC. (2011). The Children's Workforce Development Council. Retrieved 250811, from <http://www.cwdcouncil.org.uk/young-peoples-workforce/commonplatform/yps>

Daniels, H., Leadbetter, J., Warmington, P., Edwards, A., Martin, D., Popova, A., et al. (2007). Learning in and for multi-agency working. *Oxford review of education*, 33(4), 521-538.

Davies, A., & Thomas, R. (2001). Gendering and gender in public service organizations: Changing professional identities under new public management. *Public Management Review*, 4(4), 461-484.

Davies, A., & Thomas, R. (2003). Talking cop: discourses of change and policing identities. *Public Administration*, 81(4), 681-699.

Davies, A., & Thomas, R. (2004). 6 Gendered identities and micro-political resistance in public service organizations. *Identity politics at work: resisting gender, gendering resistance*, 10, 105.

Day, C. (2002). School reform and transitions in teacher professionalism and identity. *International journal of educational research*, 37(8), 677-692.

Day, C. (2004). *A passion for teaching*. London: Routledge. Farmer.

Day, C., Elliot, B., & Kington, A. (2005). Reform, standards and teacher identity: Challenges of sustaining commitment. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 21(5), 563-577.

Day, C., Kington, A., Stobart, G., & Sammons, P. (2006). 'The personal and professional selves of teachers: stable and unstable identities.' *British Educational Research Journal*, 32

(4), 601-616.

De Fina, A., Schiffrin, D., & Bamberg, M. (2006). *Discourse and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

DFE. (2003). Every child matters. London: DFE.

Dickens, J. (2011). Social Work in England at a Watershed—As Always: From the Seebohm Report to the Social Work Task Force. *British Journal of Social Work*, 41(1), 22-39.

Dimsdale, J. (Ed.). (1980). *Survivors, Victims, and Perpetrators*. Washington DC: Hemisphere

Dobrow, S. R., & Higgins, M. C. (2005). Developmental networks and professional identity: A longitudinal study. *Career Development International*, 10(6/7), 567-583.

Doel, M., Allmark, P., Conway, P., Cowburn, M., Flynn, M., Nelson, P., et al. (2009). *Professional Boundaries: research report*. London General Social Care Council.

Doel, M., & Sawdon, C. (2001). What Makes for Successful Groupwork? A Survey of Agencies in the UK. *British Journal of Social Work*, 31(3), 437-464.

DOH. (2010). *Healthy Lives, Healthy People, Our strategy for Health*.

Dörnyei, Z., & Ushioda, E. (2009). *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self*. Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Eggins, H. (1997). *Women as Leaders and Managers in Higher Education*. Buckingham: Open University Press

Erikson, E. H. (1975). *Life History and the Historical Moment*. New York: Norton.

Etzioni, A. (Ed.). (1969). *The Semi Professionals and Their organization. Teachers, nurses and social workers*. New York: Free Press.

- Evetts, J. (2003). The sociological analysis of professionalism. *International Sociology*, 18(2), 395.
- Ewens, A. (2003). Changes in nursing identities: supporting a successful transition. *Journal of Nursing Management*, 11(4), 224-228.
- Fagermoen, M. S. (1997). Professional identity: values embedded in meaningful nursing practice. *Journal of advanced nursing*, 25(3), 434-441.
- Farnham, C. (1987). *The Impact of Feminist Research in The Academy*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Farrell, L. (2000). Ways of Doing, Ways of Being: language, education and 'working' identities. *Language and Education*, 14, 18-36.
- Farrell, S. (2010, (250811)). Public Sector Workers Take More Time Off, survey reveals. *The Independent*.
- Ferguson, I., & Lavalette, M. (2004). Beyond Power Discourse: Alienation and Social Work. *British Journal of Social Work*, 34(3), 297-312.
- Ferguson, I., & Woodward, R. (2009). *Radical Social Work in Practice Making a difference* Bristol: The Policy Press
- Flowers, P., Smith, J.A., Sheeran, P., and Beail, N. (1997). Health and romance: understanding unprotected sex in relationships between gay men. *British Journal of Health Psychology*, 2, 73-86.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power and Knowledge*. Brighton: Harvester Press.
- Foucault, M. (2002). *The order of things: An archaeology of the human sciences*: Psychology Press.
- Foucault, M., & Gordon, C. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*: Pantheon.
- Foucault, M., & Hurley, R. (1990). *The history of sexuality* (Vol. 3): Vintage Books New York.

- Gaskell, S., & Leadbetter, J. (2009). Educational psychologists and multi-agency working: exploring professional identity. *Educational Psychology in Practice*, 25(2), 97-111.
- Gerwitz, S., & Ball, S., J. (1996). *from 'Welfarism' to 'New Managerialism': shifting discourse of school leadership in the education quasi- market*. . Paper presented at the 4th ESRC Quasi- Markets Research Seminar, SPS, University of Bristol.
- Gewirtz, S., Ball, S., J., & Bowe, R. (1993). Values and Ethics in the Marketplace: the case of Northwark Park. . *International Journal of Studies in Education*, 3(2), 233-253.
- Gewirtz, S., Cribb, A., Mahony, P., & Hextall, I. (2006). *Changing Teacher Roles, Identities and Professionalism: A review of key themes from the seminar papers*.
- Ghobadian, A., Viney, H. P., & Redwood, J. (2009). 'Explaining the unintended consequences of public sector reform'. *Management Decision*, 47(10), 1514-1535.
- Gilroy, D. P. (1992). The political rape of initial teacher education in England. [Article]. *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 18(1), 5.
- Gleeson, D., & Knights, D. (2006). Challenging dualism: public professionalism in 'troubled'times. *Sociology*, 40(2), 277.
- Godin, P. (1996). The development of community psychiatric nursing: a professional project? [Article]. *Journal of advanced nursing*, 23(5), 925-934.
- Goode, W. J. (1957). Community within a community: The professions. *American Sociological Review*, 194-200.
- Goodson, I. (1981). Life Histories and the study of schooling. *Interchange*, 11(4), 62-75.
- Goodson, I., & Goodson, I. F. (1992). *Studying teachers' lives*: Taylor & Francis.
- Goodson, I. F. (2000). The principled professional. *Prospects*, 30(2), 181-188.
- Gosling, D. (2005). *Peer Observation of Teaching. Seda paper 118*. London: SEDA Publications.

Grosvenor, I., Lawn, M., & Rousmaniere, K. (1999). *Silences and Images: The social History of the classroom*. New York: Peter Lang.

GSC. (2011). The General Social Care Council. Retrieved 250811, 2011, from <http://www.gsc.org.uk/>

Hall, S. (2000). Who needs identity? In P. Du Gay, J. Evans & P. Redman (Eds.), *Identity: a reader*. London: Sage.

Hall, S. a. D. G., P. (1996). *Cultural Identity*. London: Sage.

Hamill, P. a. B., B. (2001). 'Rhetoric or reality ?' Inter-agency provision for young people with challenging behaviour. *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 6(3), 135-149.

Hanson, J. (2009). Displaced but not replaced: the impact of e-learning in academic identities in Higher Education. *Teaching in Higher Education*, 14(1), 553-564.

Hargreaves, A. (2000). Four ages of professionalism and professional learning. *Teachers and teaching*, 6(2), 151-182.

Harrison, R., Clarke, J., Reeve, F., & Edwards, R. (2003). Doing Identity Work: fuzzy boundaries and flexibility in further education. *Research in Post Compulsory Education*, 8(1), 93-106.

Harrison, S., & Pollitt, C. (1994). *Controlling Health Professionals*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

HEA (Producer). (2006, 2011) Higher Education Academy Professional Standards Framework. For teaching and supporting learning in the UK. retrieved from <http://www.heacademy.ac.uk/assets/documents/rewardandrecog/ProfessionalStandardsFramework.pdf>

Heron, J. (1992). *Feeling and Personhood: Psychology in Another Key*. London: Sage Publications.

Heron, J. (1998). *Sacred Science: Person-centred Inquiry into the Spiritual and the Subtle*. Ross-on-Wye: PCCS Books.

- Heron, J. (1999). *The Complete Facilitator's Handbook*. London: Kogan Page.
- Hextall, I., Gewirtz, S., Cribb, A., & Mahony, P. (2007). Changing Teacher Roles, Identities and Professionalism: An Annotated Bibliography. *Teaching and Learning Research Programme, Kings College University of London*.
- Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J. F. (1995). *The active interview*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Hotho, S. (2008). Professional identity—product of structure, product of choice: Linking changing professional identity and changing professions. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, 21(6), 721-742.
- Hunt, G. (1998). New Professionals? New Ethics? In G. Hunt & P. Wainwright (Eds.), *Expanding the role of the nurse*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hurley, J. (2009). A qualitative study of mental health nurse identities: Many roles, one profession. *International journal of mental health nursing*, 18(6), 383-390.
- Husserl, E. (1997). *Collected works: Psychological and transcendental phenomenology and the confrontation with Heidegger (1927-1931)* (Vol. 6): Kluwer academic publishers.
- Illeris, K. (2009). *Contemporary Theories of Learning: learning theorists in their own words*. Oxford: Routledge.
- IPPR. (2011). Study on The Recession and Employment affecting young black men. . Retrieved 050811: www.ippr.org.uk/page.asp?section=0001000100030008
- Jeffrey, R. (2008). Creative Learning identities. *Education* 3(13), 253-263.
- Jeffrey, R., Borgnakke, K., Alexander, P., Beach, D., Valente, M., O., Conboy, J., et al. (2009). *Learners perspectives of performativity and identity construction* Paper presented at the ECER.
- Jeffrey, R., & Trowman, G. (2009). *Developing a performative identity*. Paper presented at the European Conference on Educational Research: Theory and Evidence in European Educational Research.

- Jephcote, M., & Salisbury, J. (2009). Further education teachers' accounts of their professional identities. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 25(7), 966-972.
- Johnson, T. (1982). *Professions and Power*. London Macmillan.
- Josselson, R. (1987). *Finding Herself. Pathways to Identity Development in Women*. San Francisco: Josey Bass Publishers.
- Josselson, R. (1987). *Finding herself: Pathways to Identity Development in Women*. San Francisco: Jossey- Bass.
- Josselson, R. (2007). *Playing Pygmalion: How people create one another*. New York: Jason Aronson.
- Kearsey, J. (2007). *A study of associate lecturer communities of practice: a study in practices*. Milton Keynes The Open University
- Kennedy, C., Lynch, E. and Goodland, R. . (2001). Good Practice in Joint/Multi-agency Working on Homelessness. Retrieved from <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/156774/0042153.pdf>
- King, N., & Ross, A. (2004). Professional Identities and Interprofessional Relations. *Social Work in Health Care*, 38(2), 51-72.
- Kinman, G. (2001). 'Pressure Points: A review of research on stressors and strains in UK academics. *Educational Psychology*, 21(4), 473-492.
- Knowles, J. G. (1992). Models for understanding pre-service and beginning teachers' biographies: Illustrations from case studies. *Studying teachers' lives*, 99-152.
- Kubiak, C. (2010). Paraprofessional development in the UK: ambivalences and contradictions. In T. Seddon, L. Henricksson & B. Niemeyer (Eds.), *Beatrix eds. Learning and Work and the Politics of Working Life: Global Transformations and Collective Identities in Teaching, Nursing and Social Work*. London: Routledge.
- Kuisma, M., & Sandberg, A. (2008). Preschool Teachers. *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, 16(2), 10.

- Kumpusalo, E., Neittaanmäki, L., Mattila, K., Virjo, I., Isokoski, M., Kujala, S., et al. (1994). Professional identities of young physicians: a Finnish National Survey. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 8(1), 69-77.
- Laming. (2009). *The Protection fo Children in England:A progress Report* London: The Stationary Office
- Lamming. (2003). *The Victoria Climbe Inquiry* London
- Langridge, D. (2007). *Phenonenological Psychology*. London: Prentice Hall.
- Larson, M., S.,. (1977). *The Rise of Professionalism:a sociological analysis*. Berkley: University of California Press
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*: Cambridge university press.
- Leach, J. a. M., B. (2008). *The Power of Pedagogy*. London Sage.
- Leece, J., & Leece, D. (2011). Personalisation: Perceptions of the Role of Social Work in a World of Brokers and Budgets. *British Journal of Social Work*, 41(2), 204-223.
- Lewis, P. (2010). *The Big Squeeze 2010: The Recession, Londoners and the Voluntary and Community Groups who serve them*. London.
- Lingard, L., Reznick, R., DeVito, I., & Espin, S. (2002). Forming professional identities on the health care team: discursive constructions of the 'other'in the operating room. *Medical education*, 36(8), 728-734.
- lloyd, m. (2005). *beyond identity politics*. London: Sage
- Lymbery, M. (2001). Social Work at the Crossroads. *British Journal of Social Work*, 31(3), 369-384.
- Lyotard, J., F. (1984). *The Postmodern Condition: A report on knowledge*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Macfarlane, B. (2004). *Teaching with Integrity. The Ethics of Higher Education Practice*. London Routledge Farmer.

Macfarlane, B. (2011). The Morphing of Academic Practice: Unbundling and the Rise of the Para academic. *Higher Education Quarterly*, 65(1), 59-73.

Maclure, M. (1992). Arguing for yourself: Identity as an organising principle in teacher's jobs and lives. *British Educational Research Journal*, 19(4), 311-322.

MacLure, M. (1993). Arguing for your self: Identity as an organising principle in teachers' jobs and lives. *British Educational Research Journal*, 19(4), 311-322.

Maclure, S. (2000). *The Inspector's Calling* Oxford: Hodder and Stoughton.

Martin Rojo, L., & Van Dijk, T., A. (1997). "There was a problem and it was solved!"Legitimizing the expulsion of 'Illegal' Immigrants in Spanish Parliamentary Discourse'. *Discourse and Society*, 8(4), 523-567.

McAdams, D. P. (1997). *Stories we live by; personal myths and the making of the self*. Guildford: Guildford Press.

McAdams, D. P., Josselson, R.,and Lieblich, A. (2006). *Identity and Story; create self in narrative*. Washington DC: Americal Psychological Association.

McCabe, A. (2010). *Below the Radar in a Big Society? Reflections on Community engagement, empowerment and social action in a changing policy context*. London: Third Sector Research Centre.

McInnes, K. (2007). A practitioner's guide to interagency working in children's centres: a review of literature. *Maidenhead, Barnardo's Policy and Research Unit*.

Menter, I. (2010). *Teachers - formation, training and identity*. Newcastle Upon Tyne: Creativity Culture and Education

Merton, R. (1967). 'Insiders and Outsiders: A chapter in the sociology of ideas'. *Americal Journal of Sociology*, 78(1), 9-47.

Merton, R. K. (1972). Insiders and outsiders: A chapter in the sociology of knowledge. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 78(1), 9-47.

- Mezirow, J. (1991). *Transformative dimensions of adult learning*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass
- Mohan, J. (2011). *Mapping The Big Society: perspectives from the third sector research centre*. London The Third Sector Research Centre.
- Moran, P., Jacobs, C., Bunn, A. and Bifulco, A. (2006). 'Multi-agency working: implications for an early-intervention social work team'. *Child and Family Social Work*, 12, 143-151.
- Muir, R., & Weatherall, M. (2010). *Identity, Politics and Public Policy*. London: The Institute for Public Policy Research.
- Nias, J. (1981). Commitment' and motivation in primary school teachers. . *Educational Review*, 33(3), 181-190.
- Nias, J. (1989). *Primary Teachers Talking: a study of teaching as work*. London: Routledge.
- Nicol, K., & Harrison, R. (2003). Constructing the Good Teacher in Higher Education: the discursive work of standards'. *Studies in Continuing Education*, 25(1), 23-35.
- Niemi, P. (1997). Medical students' professional identity: self reflection during the preclinical years. *Medical education*, 31(6), 408-415.
- Noodegraaf, M. (2011). Remaking Professionals? How associations and professional education connect professionalism and organizations. *Current Sociology* 59(4), 465-488.
- Öhlén, J., & Segesten, K. (1998). The professional identity of the nurse: concept analysis and development. [Article]. *Journal of advanced nursing*, 28(4), 720-727.
- Oliver, B. (2006). Identity and Change: youth working in transition. *Youth and Policy*, 93(Autumn), 5-19.

- Oppenheim, C., Cox, E., & Platt, R. (2010). *Regeneration through co-operation: Creating a framework for communities to act together*. . Manchester: Co-operatives UK.
- Parker, P. (2009). *Professional Boundaries in Social Work: qualitative study*. London: Witness.
- Parliament, U. (2011). *Building The Big Society*
- Parsons, T. (1954). *Essays in Sociological Theory*. New York Free Press.
- Phillips, N., & Hardy, C. (2002). *Discourse Analysis: investigating Processes of Social Construction*. London: Sage.
- Piaget, J. (1953). *Logic and psychology*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Potter, J. a. W., M. (1987). *Discourse and Social Psychology*. London: Sage.
- Powell, W., W. (1990). Neither Market nor hierarchy: Network forms of organization. . *Research on organizational behaviour*, 12, 295-336.
- Ramesh, R. (2011). Charities fight for survival as funds slashed *The Guardian*
- RCN. (2011). The role of CPD Retrieved 010811, from http://www.rcn.org.uk/newsevents/news/article/activist/march_2011/cpd_for_everyone
- Reid, K. (2005). The Implications of Every Child Matters and the Children Act for Schools. [Article]. *Pastoral Care in Education*, 23(1), 12-18.
- Reynolds, J. (2007). Discourses of inter-professionalism. *British Journal of Social Work*, 37(3), 441.
- Ricoeur, P. (1984). *The Creativity of Language in Dialogues with Contemporary Thinkers*. Chicago: Chicago Press.
- Roberts, S. J. (2000). Development of a positive professional identity: Liberating oneself from the oppressor within. *Advances in Nursing Science*, 22(4), 71.

- Robinson, M., & Cottrell, D. (2005). Health professionals in multi-disciplinary and multi-agency teams: changing professional practice. *Journal of Interprofessional Care*, 19(6), 547-560.
- Rose, H. (Ed.). (1982). *Making science feminist*. Oxford: Martin Robinson.
- Rowson, J., Brooome, S., & Jones, A. (2010). *Connected Communities: How social networks power and sustain the Big Society*. London: RSA.
- Schon, D. (1983). *From Technical Rationality to reflection in action, in the Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals think in Action*. New York: Basic Books.
- Schön, D. (1987). *Educating the Reflective Practitioner; towards a new design for teaching and learning in the professions*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Seddon, T., Henricksson, L., & Niemeyer, B. (Eds.). (2009). *Learning and work and the politics of working life: global transformations*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Sieminski, S. (2010). *Adaptations to major curriculum change: the case of Further Education Lecturers*. The Open University UK, Milton Keynes.
- Sikes, P., Measor, L., & Woods, P. (1985). *Teacher careers: Crises and continuities*. London: Falmer Press.
- Sikes, P., Measor, L. and Woodes, P. (1985). *Teacher Careers: Crises and continuities*. Lewes: Falmer Press.
- Smulyan, L. (2004). Redefining self and success: becoming teachers and doctors. *Gender and Education*, 16(2), 225-245.
- Snow, D., & Anderson, L. (1987). Identity work among the Homeless: The Verbal Construction and Avowal of Personal Identities. *AJS*, 92(6), 1336-1371.
- Sommerlad, H. (2007). Researching and theorizing the processes of professional identity formation. *Journal of Law and Society*, 34(2), 190-217.
- Søreide, G. E. (2007). The public face of teacher identity—narrative construction of teacher identity in public policy documents. *Journal of Education Policy*, 22(2), 129-146.

- Stevens, A. (2011). Telling Policy Stories: An Ethnographic Study in the Use of Evidence in Policy Making in the UK. *International Social Policy*, 40(2), 237-255.
- Stronach, I., Corbin, B., McNamara, O., Stark, S., & Warne, T. (2002). Towards an uncertain politics of professionalism: teacher and nurse identities in flux. *Journal of Education Policy*, 17(1), 109-138.
- Thomas, R. (2007). *Promising Practices, Managerial Identities: ERSC End of Award Report* Swindon
- Thomas, R., & Davies, A. (2002). Restructuring the "old bill": policing identities and commitment. *Women in Management Review*, 17(3/4), 180-189.
- Thomas, R., & Davies, A. (2005). Theorizing the micro-politics of resistance: New public management and managerial identities in the UK public services. *Organization Studies*, 26(5), 683.
- Townsley, R., Watson, D., & Abbott, D. (2004b). 'Working Partnerships?' A critique of the process of multi-agency working in services to disabled children with complex health needs. *Journal of integrated care*, 12(2), 24-34.
- Trowler, P. (2002). Captured by the discourse? The Socially constitutive power of new higher education discourse in the UK. *Organization*, 8(2), 183-201.
- Vähäsantanen, K., Hökkä, P., Eteläpelto, A., Rasku-Puttonen, H., & Littleton, K. (2008). Teachers' professional identity negotiations in two different work organisations. *Vocations and Learning*, 1(2), 131-148.
- Van Maanen, J. (1988). *Tales of the Field: on writing ethnography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Van Manen, M. (1990a). *Researching lived experience*: SUNY Press.
- Van Manen, M. (1990b). *Researching lived experience: Human science for an action sensitive pedagogy*: State Univ of New York Pr.
- Van Manen, M. (2002). *Writing in the dark: Phenomenological studies in interpretive inquiry*: Althouse Press.

- Wall, C. (2008). Picturing an Occupational Identity: Images of Teachers in Careers and Trade Union Publications 1940-2000. *History of Education*, 2, 317-340.
- Watkins, J. (1999a). Educating professionals: the changing role of UK professional associations. *Journal of Education and Work*, 12(1), 37-56.
- Watkins, J. (1999b). UK professional associations and continuing professional development: a new direction? *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 18(1), 61-75.
- Weiss, G., I., & Welbourne, P. (2008). The professionalisation of social work: a cross national exploration. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 17, 281-290.
- Weiss Gal, I., & Welbourne, P. (2008). The professionalisation of social work: a cross national exploration. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 17(4), 281-290.
- Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of Practice: Learning Meaning and Identity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wenger, E. (2007). *Communities of practice: Learning, meanings, and identity*: Cambridge university press.
- Wenger, E. C., & Snyder, W. M. (2000). Communities of practice: The organizational frontier. *Harvard business review*, 78(1), 139-146.
- Whitchurch, C. (2008). Shifting Identities and Blurring Boundaries: the Emergence of Third Space Professionals in UK Higher Education. *Higher Education Quarterly*, 62(4), 377-396.
- Wiles, F. (2010). *Professional registration and the discursive construction of social work student' identities* The Open University UK, Milton Keynes.
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2001). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage
- Woods, P., & Jeffrey, R. (2002). The Reconstruction of Primary teachers' identities. *British Journal of the Sociology of Education.*, 23(1), 89-106.

Zemblyas, M. (2005). Discursive practices, genealogies, and emotional rules: A post structuralist view on emotion and identity in teaching. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 21(8 November 2005), 935-948.

Appendix 01 Grant Funding Sources

Amount	Source	PI	Date	Grant detail	FP	Methodology
Amount	Body	PI	Date	Title	Line	Synopsis
38,613	ESRC	Dr A Davies	2001	Gender and restructuring : managerial roles and identities sin the Public Sector	FP 7	Case study 2000 questionnaires and case study analysis of 6 organisations.
113,750	ESRC	Prof W Newburn	1995	Private security and public policing	FP7	Case study
191, 998.33	ESRC	Prof P Smith	2005	Research evidence and Public sector effectiveness	FP7	Cross
302, 354.16	ESRC	Mike Wallace	2009	Developing organization leaders as change agents in the public sectors	FP7	
unknown	The Big Lottery research fund	Jean Spence	2004	Youth work : Voices of practice 1	N/A	Qualitative + focus groups

Unknown	Esmefairburn Foundation			CPD for Teachers		
40 K	ESRC	Christine Wall	2006	Does work still shape social identity?		RES 148-25-0038

Appendix 02 Policy Snapshot

The timeline described below is not intended to be a definitive guide to policy within the public services, but should be viewed as an indication of the ways in which the public services have been subjected to increasing levels of government control and regulation. The lower section, marked mood, is an indication of the ways in which the economic and social climate of the UK , caused increasing disillusionment with the public sector and those employed within it. The diagram is intended as a snapshot in time. Thanks to members of the FELS HSC cluster group who contributed information.

Public Sector Policy Timeline- Key dates and acts.

